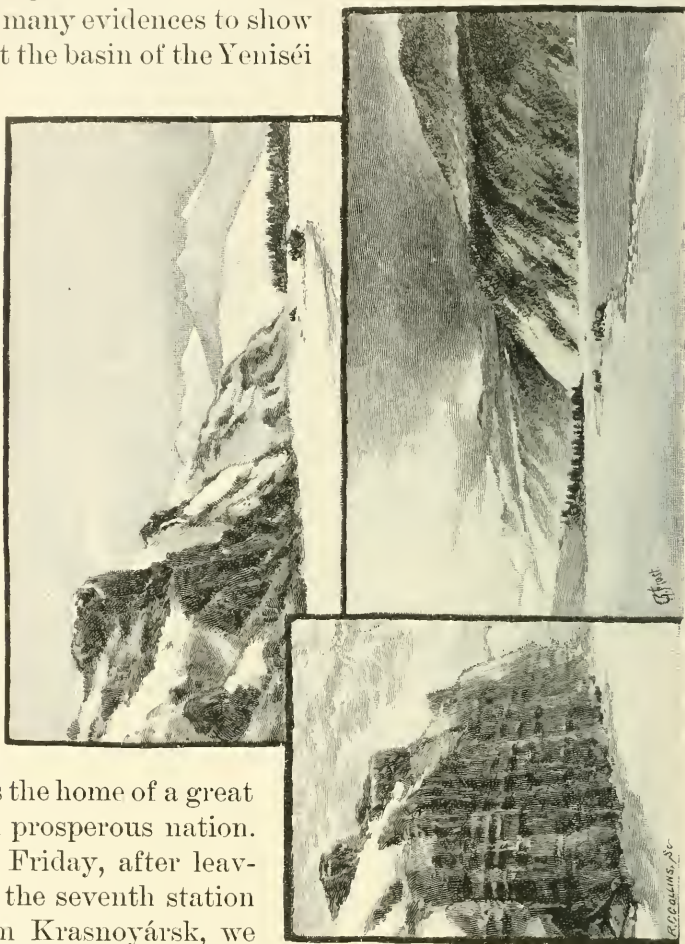


whatever their significance may have been, were very disquieting. Long before I reached the frontier of European Russia I became so nervous, and so suspicious of everything unusual, that I could hardly sleep at night.

Wednesday, January 20th, having spent as much time in Krasnoyársk as we thought we could spend there profitably, and having recovered from the fatigue of the journey from Irkútsk, we set out for the town of Minusínsk, which is situated on the northern watershed of the Altái and Sayán mountains, near the Mongolian frontier, in what is half seriously and half jocosely called "The Siberian Italy." The distance from Krasnoyársk to Minusínsk is about two hundred miles, and the road between the two places in winter runs on the ice up the great river Yeniséi. It is not a regular post-route, but the well-to-do and enterprising peasants who live along the river are accustomed to carry travelers from village to village at the established Government post-rate, and there is no more delay than on the great Siberian road itself. The weather, when we left Krasnoyársk, was cold and stormy, and the snow was drifting so badly on the ice that beyond the second station it became necessary to harness the three horses tandem and to send a fourth horse ahead with a light sledge to break a track. As the road was perfectly level, and the motion of the *pavóska* steady, Frost and I buried ourselves in the depths of our sheepskin bag as night came on and went to sleep, leaving our drivers to their own devices. All that I remember of the night's travel is waking up and getting out of the *pavóska* at intervals of three or four hours and going into some peasant's house to wait for the harnessing of fresh horses. Thursday we traveled slowly all day up the river through deep soft snow in which the *pavóska* sank to its outriggers and the horses to their knees. The banks of the river became higher as we went southward, and finally assumed a wild mountainous character, with splendid ramparts here and there of cliffs and stratified pali-

sades. Upon these cliffs Mr. Sávenkof, the accomplished director of the Normal School in Krasnoyársk, found the remarkable inscriptions and pictographs of which he has so large a collection. There are many evidences to show that the basin of the Yeniséi



MOUNTAINS AND PALISADES OF THE YENISÉI.

was the home of a great and prosperous nation. On Friday, after leaving the seventh station from Krasnoyársk, we abandoned the river for

a time and rode through a shallow, grassy, and almost snowless valley which was literally a great cemetery. In every direction it was dotted with innumerable gravestones, inclosing burial-mounds like those shown in the illustration

on page 396. It is not an exaggeration, I think, to say that there were thousands of them, and throughout the whole day they were the most prominent features of every landscape.

Before daylight, Saturday morning, January 23d, we reached our proximate destination, the town of Minusinsk, and found shelter in a two-story log house that for many years was the home of the distinguished political exile, Prince Alexander Kropótkin.

## CHAPTER XII

### OUR LAST DAYS IN SIBERIA

**M**INUSÍNSK, where we made our last stop in Eastern Siberia, is a thriving little town of 5000 or 6000 inhabitants, situated in the fertile valley of the upper Yeniséi, 3200 miles from the capital of the Empire and 150 miles from the boundary-line of Mongolia. It corresponds very nearly with Liverpool in latitude and with Calcutta in longitude, and is distant from St. Petersburg, in traveling time, about twenty days. Owing to the fact that it lies far south of the main line of transcontinental communication it has not often been visited by foreign travelers, and at the time of our visit was little known even to the people of European Russia; but it had particular interest for us, partly because it contained the largest and most important museum of archæology and natural history in Siberia, and partly because it was the place of exile of a number of prominent Russian liberals and revolutionists.

We reached the little town about half-past five o'clock in the morning. The columns of smoke that were rising here and there from the chimneys of the log houses showed that some, at least, of the inhabitants were already astir; but as the close-fitting board shutters had not been taken down from the windows there were no lights visible, the wide streets were empty, and the whole town had the lonely, deserted appearance that most Siberian towns have when seen early in the morning by the faint light of a waning moon.



"Where do you order me to go?" inquired our driver, reining in his horses and turning half around in his seat.

"To a hotel," I said. "There 's a hotel here, is n't there?"

"There used to be," he replied, doubtfully. "Whether there 's one now or not, God knows; but if your high nobility has no friends to go to, we 'll see."

We were provided with letters of introduction to several well-known citizens of Minusínsk, and I had no doubt that at the house of any one of them we should be cordially and hospitably received; but it is rather awkward and embarrassing to have to present a letter of introduction, before daylight in the morning, to a gentleman whom you have just dragged out of bed; and I resolved that, if we should fail to find a hotel, I would have the driver take us to the Government post-station. We had no legal right to claim shelter there, because we were traveling with "free" horses and without a *padarózhnaya*; but experience had taught me that a Siberian post-station master, for a suitable consideration, will shut his eyes to the strictly legal aspect of any case and admit the justice and propriety of any claim.

After turning three or four corners our driver stopped in front of a large two-story log building, near the center of the town, which he said "used to be" a hotel. He pounded and banged at an inner courtyard door until he had roused all the dogs in the neighborhood, and was then informed by a sleepy and exasperated servant that this was not a hotel but a private house, and that if we continued to batter down people's doors in that way in the middle of the night we should n't need a hotel, because we would be conducted by the police to suitable apartments in a commodious jail. This was not very encouraging, but our driver, after exchanging a few back-handed compliments with the ill-tempered servant, took us to another house in a different part of the town, where he banged and pounded at another door with undiminished vigor and resolution. The man who responded on this occasion said that he did keep

“rooms for arrivers,” but that, unfortunately, the full complement of “arrivers” had already arrived, and his rooms were all occupied. He suggested that we try the house of one Soldátov. As there seemed to be nothing better to do, away we went to Soldátov’s, where at last, in the second story of an old weather-beaten log building, we found a large, well-lighted, and apparently clean room which was offered to us, with board for two, at seventy cents a day. We accepted the terms with joy, and ordered our driver to empty the *pavóska* and bring up the baggage. Our newly found room was uncarpeted, had no window-curtains, and contained neither wash-stand nor bed; but it made up for its deficiencies in these respects by offering for our contemplation an aged oleander in a green tub, two pots of geraniums, and a somewhat anemic vine of English ivy climbing feebly up a cotton string to look at itself in a small wavy mirror. Of course no reasonable traveler would complain of the absence of a bed when he could sit up all night and look at an oleander; and as for the washstand—it would have been wholly superfluous in a hotel where you could go out to the barn at any time and get one of the hostlers to come in and pour water on your hands out of a gangrened brass teapot.

As soon as our baggage had been brought in we lay down on the floor, just as we were, in fur caps, sheepskin overcoats, and felt boots, and slept soundly until after ten o’clock.

A little before noon, having changed our dress and made ourselves as presentable as possible, we went out to make a call or two and to take a look at the place. We did not think it prudent to present our letters of introduction to the political exiles until we could ascertain the nature of the relations that existed between them and the other citizens of the town, and could learn something definite with regard to the character and disposition of the *isprávník*, or district chief of police. We therefore went to call first upon the well-known Siberian naturalist, Mr. N. M. Martiánov,

the founder of the Minusínsk museum, to whom we had a note of introduction from the editor of the *St. Petersburg Eastern Review*. We found Mr. Martíánof busily engaged in compounding medicines in the little drug-store of which he was the proprietor, not far from the Soldátov hotel. He gave us a hearty welcome, and said that he had seen references to our movements occasionally in the Tomsk and



A STREET IN MINUSÍNSK.  
(From our window at Soldátov's.)

Irkútsk newspapers, but that he had feared we would return to St. Petersburg without paying Minusínsk a visit. We replied, of course, that we could not think of leaving Siberia until we had seen the Minusínsk museum, and made the acquaintance of the man whose name was so intimately and so honorably associated with it, and with the history of natural science in that remote part of the Empire. In Tomsk, in Krasnoyársk, in Irkútsk, and even in St. Petersburg, we had heard the most favorable accounts of the museum, and we anticipated great pleasure in go-

ing through it, and especially in examining its anthropological and archaeological collections, which, we had been informed, were very rich.

Mr. Martiánof seemed gratified to know that we had heard the museum well spoken of in other parts of the Empire, but said, modestly, that it might disappoint travelers who were acquainted with the great scientific collections of America and Europe, and that he hoped we would make due allowance for the difficulties with which they had to contend and the scantiness of their pecuniary resources. It was, as yet, he said, only the kernel or nucleus of a museum, and its chief importance lay in the promise that it held out of becoming something better and more complete in the future. Still, such as it was, we should see it; and if we were at leisure he would take us to it at once. We replied that we had nothing better to do, and in five minutes we were on our way to the museum building.

The Minusínsk museum, of which all educated Siberians are now deservedly proud, is a striking illustration of the results that may be attained by unswerving devotion to a single purpose, and steady, persistent work for its accomplishment. It is, in every sense of the word, the creation of Mr. Martiánof, and it represents, almost exclusively, his own individual skill and labor. When he emigrated to Siberia, in 1874, there was not a public institution of the kind, so far as I know, in all the country, except the half-dead, half-alive mining museum in Barnaül; and the idea of promoting popular education and cultivating a taste for science by making and exhibiting classified collections of plants, minerals, and archaeological relics had hardly suggested itself even to teachers by profession. Mr. Martiánof, who was a graduate of the Kazán university, and whose scientific specialty was botany, began, almost as soon as he reached Minusínsk, to make collections with a view to the ultimate establishment of a museum. He was not a man of means or leisure. On the contrary, he was wholly de-



pendent upon his little drug-store for support, and was closely confined to it during the greater part of every day. By denying himself sleep, however, and rising very early in the morning, he managed to get a few hours every day for scientific work, and in those few hours he made a dozen or more identical collections of such plants and minerals as could be found within an hour's walk of the town. After classifying and labeling the specimens carefully, he sent one of these collections to every country school-teacher in the Minusinsk district, with a request that the scholars be asked to make similar collections in the regions accessible to them, and that the specimens thus obtained be sent to him for use in the projected museum. The teachers and scholars responded promptly and sympathetically to the appeal thus made, and in a few months collections of flowers and rocks began to pour into Mr. Martiánof's little drug-store from all parts of the district. Much of this material, of course, had been collected without adequate knowledge or discrimination, and was practically worthless; but some of it was of great value, and even the unavailable specimens were proofs of sympathetic interest and readiness to coöperate on the part not only of the scholars, but of their relatives and friends. In the mean time Mr. Martiánof had been sending similar but larger and more complete collections to the Imperial Academy of Sciences, to various Russian museums, to his own alma mater, and to the professors of natural history in several of the great Russian universities, with a proposition in every case to exchange them for such duplicates of specimens from other parts of the Empire as they might have to spare. In this way, by dint of unwearied personal industry, Mr. Martiánof gathered, in the course of two years, a collection of about 1500 objects, chiefly in the field of natural history, and a small but valuable library of 100 or more scientific books, many of which were not to be found elsewhere in Siberia. In 1876 he made a formal presentation of all this material to the Minusinsk town council



for the benefit of the public. A charter was then obtained; two rooms in one of the school-buildings were set apart as a place for the exhibition of the specimens, and the museum was thrown open. From that time forth its growth was steady and rapid. The cultivated people of Minusínsk rallied to Mr. Martiánof's support, and contributions in the shape of books, anthropological material, educational appliances, and money soon began to come from all parts of the town and district, as well as from many places in the neighboring provinces.

In 1879, only three years after its foundation, the museum contained more than 6000 objects, and on the shelves of the library connected with it there were 3100 volumes. At the time of our visit it had outgrown its accommodations in the school-house, and had been removed to the building of the town council, where it occupied six or seven rooms and was still very much crowded. Its contents were classified in six departments, or sections, known respectively as the departments of natural history, ethnology, archæology, rural economy [including farm and household implements and utensils], technology, and educational appliances. The department of natural history, which comprised the plants, rocks, and animals of the district, was the largest, of course, and the most complete; but to me the department of archæology was by far the most important and interesting, for the reason that it contained a very remarkable collection of weapons and implements found in the *kurgáns* and burial-mounds of the Yeniséi valley, and extending in an unbroken series from the flint arrow-heads and stone celts of the prehistoric aborigines, down through the copper and bronze age, to the rusty pikeheads and chain-mail shirts of the Cossack invaders. There were nearly 4000 specimens in this department, and the group that included the pure copper and bronze articles was extremely varied and interesting. Among the things that particularly attracted my attention, and that I still remember, were axes of pure cop-

per made in the form of preëxisting nephrite celts, and evidently, in pattern, a development from them; axes of pure copper that had partially returned to the form of ore and that looked as if they were composed of metal blended with a substance like malachite; pure-copper knives or daggers with traces of an ornamental pattern in vitreous enamel on the handles, which showed that, in this part of Siberia, the art of enameling preceded even the early acquired art of making bronze; three-tined table-forks; hinged molds of bronze in which, apparently, axes had been cast; a bronze trolling fish-hook and spoon; a bronze pot-lid with the figure of an elephant on it for a handle; earthen jars molded in the form of earlier skin bottles; gypsum death-masks found on the skulls of skeletons in the burial-mounds; and, finally, a quantity of inscriptions, on stone slabs, in characters that seemed to me to resemble the Scandinavian runes.<sup>1</sup> In the department of ethnology the life of the aborigines of Siberia, on its material side, was illustrated very fully by six or eight hundred tools, implements, weapons, utensils, and articles of dress, and there was also an interesting collection of objects made and used by a wild, isolated, and almost unknown tribe known as the Soyóts, who live a nomadic life in the rugged mountainous region of the upper Yeniséi in northern Mongolia. Among these Soyót objects I was surprised to find a big rudely fashioned jewsharp—an instrument that I had never seen in Russia—a set of strange-looking chessmen in which the bishops were double-humped Bactrian camels and the pawns were dogs or wolves, and a set of wooden dice and chips used in playing a game that, as nearly as I could find out, was a Mongolian variety of backgammon. Mr. Martiánof had just been describing the Soyóts to me as the wildest,

<sup>1</sup> According to Professor Aspelin, the state archaeologist of Finland, who since my return from Siberia has visited Minusínsk, these inscriptions are in the earliest known form of the Finno-

Ugrian language, and date back to a period very remote—as remote, probably, as 2000 B.C. In his opinion the people of the Minusínsk bronze age were of the Finno-Ugrian stock.

fiercest, most savage native tribe in all northern Mongolia; but after I discovered that they understood the value of doublets in backgammon, knew how to checkmate in three moves with a two-humped Bactrian camel, and could play sweet Mongolian æolian airs on the identical jewsharp of



A SOYÓT.

my boyhood, I felt as if I had suddenly discovered a long lost tribe of Asiatic cousins. It was of no use, after that, to try to impress me with the Soyóts' wildness and ferocity. Any tribe that could throw dice, play the Mongolian jewsharp, and open a game of chess with the khan's double-humped - Bactrian - camel's dog gambit was high enough in the scale of civilization to teach social

accomplishments even to the Siberians. It is true that the Soyóts last year lay in wait for and captured the distinguished Finnish archaeologist Professor Aspelin, and held him for some time a prisoner; but they may have done this merely as a means of getting him to teach them some new jewsharp music, instruct them in Finnish backgammon, or show them the latest method of cornering a king with two camels and a dog. A tribe that lives strictly according to Hoyle ought not to be called savage merely because it makes game of an archaeologist and acquires its science by means of an ambushade. Noticing the interest with which I regarded the objects of Soyót and Tatár origin, Mr. Martiánof said that there was a tribe of Tatárs known as the Káchintsi living within a short distance of Minusínsk, that they were believed to be ethnologically second cousins of the Soyóts,

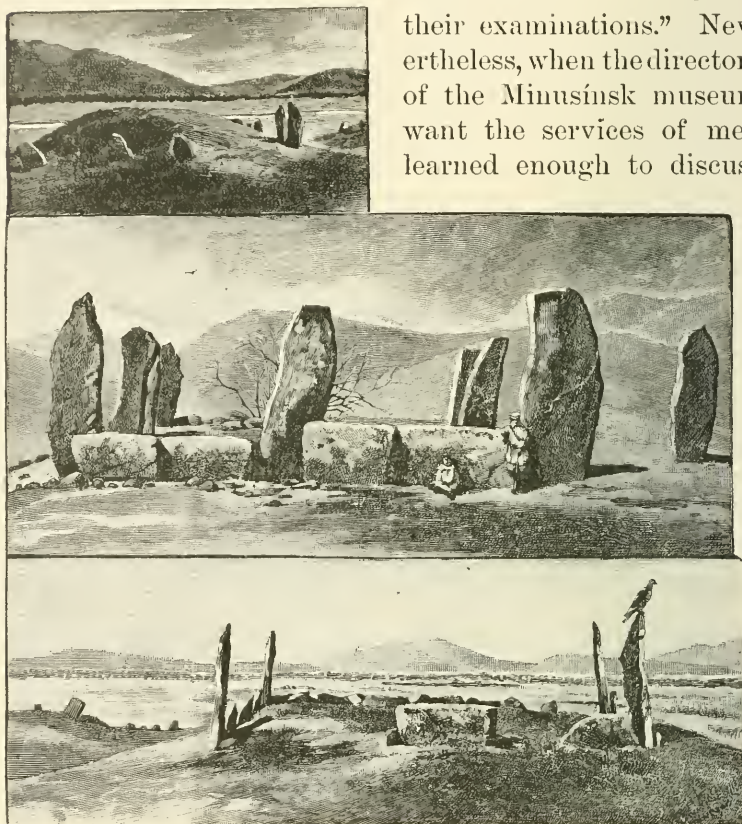
and that, if we desired it, an excursion to one of their villages might easily be arranged. I replied that we should be very glad to make such an excursion, and it was decided at once that we should go on the following day to the Akúnefski *ulús*, a settlement of Káchinski Tatárs about fifteen *versets* from Minusínsk on the river Abakán.

After making a comprehensive but rather hasty survey of the whole museum, Mr. Frost and I decided that the departments of archæology and ethnology were its most striking and interesting features, but that it was a very creditable exhibition throughout, and an honor to its founder and to the town. Its collections, at the time of our visit, filled seven rooms in the building of the town council, and were numbered up to 23,859 in the catalogue, while the number of volumes in its library was nearly 10,000. All this was the direct result of the efforts of a single individual, who had, at first, very little public sympathy or encouragement, who was almost destitute of pecuniary means, and who was confined ten or twelve hours every day in a drug-store. Since my return from Siberia the directors of the museum, with the aid of I. M. Sibíriakóf, Inokénti Kuznetsóf, and a few other wealthy and cultivated Siberians, have published an excellent descriptive catalogue of the archæological collection, with an atlas of lithographic illustrations, and have erected a spacious building for the accommodation of the museum and library at a cost of 12,000 or 15,000 *rúbles*. The catalogue and atlas, which have elicited flattering comments from archæological societies in the various capitals of Europe, possess an added interest for the reason that they are wholly the work of political exiles. The descriptive text, which fills nearly 200 octavo pages, is from the pen of the accomplished geologist and archæologist Dmítri Kléments, who was banished to Eastern Siberia for "political untrustworthiness" in 1881, while the illustrations for the atlas were drawn by the exiled artist A. V. Stankévich. It has been said again and again by defenders



of the Russian Government that the so-called nihilists whom that Government banishes to Siberia are nothing but *malchishki* [contemptible striplings], "expelled seminarists," "half-educated school-boys," "despicable Jews," and "stu-

dents that have failed in their examinations." Nevertheless, when the directors of the Minusinsk museum want the services of men learned enough to discuss



PREHISTORIC BURIAL-PLACES IN THE VALLEY OF THE YENISEI.

the most difficult problems of archaeology, and artists skilful enough to draw with minute fidelity the objects found in the burial-mounds, they have to go to these very same nihilists, these "contemptible striplings," and "half-educated school-boys" who are so scornfully referred to in the official newspapers of the capital and in the speeches of the Tsar's procureurs.



Such misrepresentation may for a time influence public opinion abroad, but it no longer deceives anybody in Siberia. Siberians are well aware that if they want integrity, capacity, and intelligence, they must look for these qualities not among the official representatives of the Crown, but among the unfortunate lawyers, doctors, naturalists, authors, newspaper men, statisticians, and political economists who have been exiled to Siberia for political untrustworthiness.

After leaving the museum we called with Mr. Martiánof upon several prominent citizens of the town, among them Mr. Lítkin, the mayor or head of the town council; Dr. Malínin, an intelligent physician, who lived in rather a luxurious house filled with beautiful conservatory flowers, and a wealthy young merchant named Safiánof, who carried on a trade across the Mongolian frontier with the Soyóts, and who was to accompany us on our visit to the Káchinski Tatárs. I also called, alone, upon Mr. Známenski, the *isprávník*, or district chief of police, but, failing to find him at home, left cards. About the middle of the afternoon we returned to Soldátov's, where we had dinner, and then spent most of the remainder of the day in making up sleep lost on the road.

Our excursion to the *ulús* of the Káchinski Tatárs was made as projected, but did not prove to be as interesting as we had anticipated. Mr. Safiánof came for us in a large comfortable sleigh about nine o'clock in the morning, and we drove up the river, partly on the ice and partly across low extensive islands, to the mouth of the Abakán, and thence over a nearly level steppe, very thinly covered with snow, to the *ulús*. The country generally was low and bare, and would have been perfectly uninteresting but for the immense number of burial-mounds, tumuli, and monolithic slabs that dotted the landscape as far as the eye could reach, and that were unmistakable evidences of the richness of the archæological field in which the bronze-age collections

of the Minusínsk museum had been gathered. Some of the standing monoliths were twelve or fifteen feet in height and three or four feet wide, and must have been brought, with great labor, from a distance. All of these standing stones and tumuli, as well as the bronze implements and utensils found in the graves and plowed up in the fields around Minusínsk, are attributed by the Russian peasants to prehistoric people whom they call the Chúdi, and if you go into almost any farmer's house in the valley of the upper Yeniséi and inquire for "Chúdish things" the children or the housewife will bring you three or four arrow-heads, a bronze implement that looks like one half of a pair of scissors, or a queer copper knife made in the shape of a short boomerang, with the cutting edge on the inner curve like a yataghan.

We reached the Káchinski *ulús* about eleven o'clock. I was disappointed to find that it did not differ essentially from a Russian village or a small settlement of semi-civilized Buriáts. Most of the houses were gable-roofed log buildings of the Russian type, with chimneys, brick ovens, and double glass windows, and the inhabitants looked very much like American Indians that had abandoned their hereditary pursuits and dress, accepted the yoke of civilization, and settled down as petty farmers in the neighborhood of a frontier village or agency. Here and there one might see a *yurt*, whose octagon form and conical bark roof suggested a Kirghis *kibítka*, and indicated that the builders' ancestors had been dwellers in tents; but with this exception there was nothing in or about the settlement to distinguish it from hundreds of Russian villages of the same class and type. Under the guidance of Mr. Safiánof, who was well acquainted with all of these Tatárs, we entered and examined two or three of the low octagonal *yurts* and one of the gable-roofed houses, but found in them little that was of interest. Russian furniture, Russian dishes, Russian trunks, and Russian *samovárs* had taken the places of



A YURT OF THE KÁCHINSKI TATÁRS.

the corresponding native articles, and I could find nothing that seemed to be an expression of Tatár taste, or a survival from the Tatár past, except a child's cradle shaped like a small Eskimo dog-sledge with transverse instead of longi-



tudinal runners, and a primitive domestic still. The latter, which was used to distil an intoxicating liquor known as arrack, consisted of a large copper kettle, mounted on a tripod and furnished with a tight-fitting cover; out of the top of which projected a curving wooden tube intended to serve as a condenser, or worm. The whole apparatus was of the rudest possible construction, and the thin, acrid, unpleasant-looking, and vile-tasting liquor made in it was probably as intoxicating and deadly as the poison-toadstool cordial of the wandering Koráks. The interior of every Tatár habitation that we inspected was so cheerless, gloomy, and dirty that we decided to take our lunch out of doors on the snow; and while we ate it Mr. Safiánof persuaded some of the Tatár women to put on their holiday dresses and let Mr. Frost photograph them. It will be seen from the illustration on page 403 that the Káchinski feminine type is distinctively Indian, and there are suggestions of the Indian even in the dress. All of the Káchinski Tatárs that we saw in the Minusínsk district, if they were dressed in American fashion, would be taken in any Western State for Indians without hesitation or question. They number in all about ten thousand, and are settled, for the most part, on what is known as the Káchinski Steppe, a great rolling plain on the left or western bank of the Yeniséi above Minusínsk, where the climate is temperate and the snowfall light, and where they find excellent pasturage, both in summer and in winter, for their flocks and herds.

Late in the afternoon, when Mr. Frost had made an end of photographing the women of the settlement, all of whom were eager to put on their good clothes and "have their pictures taken," we set out on our return to Minusínsk, and before dark we were refreshing ourselves with caravan tea and discussing Káchinski Tatárs under the shadow of our own vine and oleander in Soldátov's second-story-front bower.

It must not be supposed that we had become so absorbed in museums, archæological relics, and Káchinski Tatárs

that we had forgotten all about the political exiles. Such was by no means the case. To make the acquaintance of these exiles was the chief object of our visit to Minu-



DISTILLING ARRACK IN A TATÁR YURT. (SEE P. 400.)

sínsk, and we did not for a moment lose sight of it; but the situation there just at that time was a peculiarly strained and delicate one, owing to the then recent escape of a political named Máslof, and the strictness with which, as a natural consequence, all the other exiles were watched.



The provincial procureur Skrínikof and a colonel of gendarmes from Krasnoyársk were there making an investigation of the circumstances of Máslof's flight; the local police, of course, were stimulated to unwonted vigilance by the result of their previous negligence and by the presence of these high officers of the Crown from the provincial capital; and it was extremely difficult for us to open communication with the politicals without the authorities' knowledge. In these circumstances it seemed to me necessary to proceed with great caution, and to make the acquaintance of the exiles in a manner that should appear to be wholly accidental. I soon learned, from Mr. Martíánof, that several of them had taken an active interest in the museum, had been of great assistance in the collection and classification of specimens, and were in the habit of frequenting both the museum and the library. I should have been very dull and slow-witted if, in the light of this information, I had failed to see that archæology and anthropology were my trump cards, and that the best possible thing for me to do was to cultivate science and take a profound interest in that museum. Fortunately I was a member of the American Geographical Society of New York and of the Anthropological Society of Washington, and had a sufficiently general smattering of natural science to discuss any branch of it with laymen and the police, even if I could not rise to the level of a professional like Martíánof. I therefore not only visited the museum at my earliest convenience, and took a deep anthropological interest in the Káchinski Tatárs, but asked Mr. Martíánof to allow us to take a Soyóte plow, a lot of copper knives and axes, and half a dozen bronze mirrors to our room, where we could study them and make drawings of them at our leisure, and where, of course, they would be seen by any suspicious official who happened to call upon us, and would be taken by him as indications of the perfectly innocent and praiseworthy nature of our aims and pursuits. The result of our



KÁCHINSKI TATÁR WOMAN AND CHILD. (SEE P. 400.)

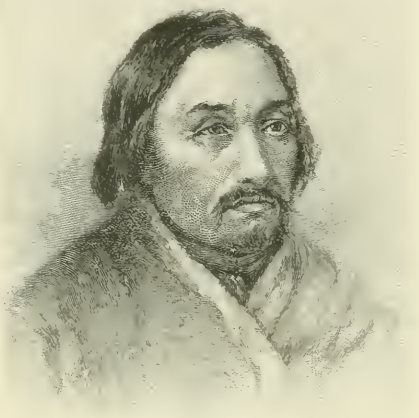
conspicuous devotion to science was that Mr. Martiánof kept our room filled with archæological relics and ethnological specimens of all sorts, and, moreover, brought to call upon us one evening the accomplished geologist, archæologist, and political exile, Dmitri Kléments. I recognized the latter at once as the man to whom I had a round-robin letter of introduction from a whole colony of political exiles in another part of Eastern Siberia, and also as the original of one of the biographical sketches in Stépniak's "Underground Russia." He was a tall, strongly built man about forty years of age, with a head and face that would attract attention in any popular assembly, but that would be characterized by most observers as Asiatic rather than European in type. The high, bald, well-developed forehead was that of the European scholar and thinker, but the dark-brown eyes, swarthy complexion, prominent cheek-bones, and rather flattish nose with open, dilated nostrils, suggested the features of a Buriát or Mongol. The lips and chin and the outlines of the lower jaw were concealed by a dark-brown beard and mustache; but all the face that could be seen below the forehead might have belonged to a native of any south-Siberian tribe.

As soon as I could get my round-robin certificate of trustworthiness out of the leather money-belt under my shirt, where I carried all dangerous documents likely to be needed on the road, I handed it to Mr. Kléments with the remark that although Mr. Martiánof had given me the conventional introduction of polite society, he could not be expected, of course, as a recent acquaintance, to vouch for my moral character, and I begged leave, therefore, to submit my references. Mr. Kléments read the letter with grave attention, went with it to one corner of the room, struck a match, lighted the paper, held it by one corner between his thumb and forefinger until it was entirely consumed, and then, dropping the ash and grinding it into powder on the floor under his foot, he turned to me and said, "That's the



safest thing to do with all such letters." I was of the same opinion, but I had to carry with me all the time, nevertheless, not only such epistles but documents and letters infinitely more compromising and dangerous. After half an hour's conversation Mr. Martiánof suggested that we all come to his house and drink tea. The suggestion met with general approval, and we spent with Mr. and Mrs. Martiánof the remainder of the evening.

On the following morning we had our first skirmish with the Minusínsk police. Before we were up an officer in a blue uniform forced his way into our room without card or announcement, and in rather an



A KÁCHINSKI TATÁR. (SEE P. 398.)

offensive manner demanded our passports. I told him that the passports had been sent to the police-station on the day of our arrival, and had been there ever since.

"If they are there the *nadzirátel* [inspector] does n't know it," said the officer impudently.

"It's his business to know it," I replied, "and not to send a man around here to disturb us before we are up in the morning. We have been in the Empire long enough to know what to do with passports, and we sent ours to the police-station as soon as we arrived."

My aggressive and irritated manner apparently convinced the officer that there must be some official mistake or oversight in this matter of passports, and he retired in confusion; but in less than ten minutes, while I was still lying on the floor, virtually in bed, around came the in-

spector of police himself—an evil-looking miscreant with a pock-marked face, and green, shifty, feline eyes, who, without his uniform, would have been taken anywhere for a particularly bad type of common convict. He declared that our passports were not at the police-station and had not been there, and that he wanted them immediately. Furthermore, he said, he had been directed by the *isprávník* to find out “what kind of people” we were, where we had come from, and what our business was in Minusínsk. “You have been making calls,” he said, “upon people in the town, and yet the *isprávník* has n’t seen anything of you.”

“Whose fault is it that he has n’t seen anything of me?” I demanded hotly. “I called on him day before yesterday, did n’t find him at home, and left my card. If he wants to know ‘what kind of people’ we are, why does n’t he return my call in a civilized manner, at a proper time of day, instead of sending a police officer around here to make impertinent inquiries before we are up in the morning? As for the ‘kind of people’ we are—perhaps you will be able to find out from these,” and I handed him my open letters from the Russian Minister of the Interior and the Minister of Foreign Affairs. He glanced through them, and then, in a slightly changed tone and manner, inquired, “Will you permit me to take these to show to the *isprávník*?”

“Certainly,” I replied; “that’s what they are for.”

He bowed and withdrew, while I went down to see the proprietor of the house and to find out what he had done with the passports. It appeared that they had been taken to the police-station at once, but that the police secretary could neither read them nor make anything out of them, and had stupidly or angrily declined to receive them; whereupon the proprietor had brought them back and put them away safely in a cupboard drawer. In the course of half an hour the inspector of police returned with the open letters, which he handed me without remark. I gave him



the passports with a brief statement of the fact that his secretary had declined to receive them, and we parted with a look of mutual dislike and suspicion. We were destined shortly to meet again under circumstances that would deepen his suspicion and my dislike.

With the coöperation of Mr. Martiánof and Mr. Kléments we made the acquaintance in the course of the next three or four days of nearly all the political exiles in the place, and found among them some of the most interesting and attractive people we as yet had met in Siberia. Among those with whom we became best acquainted were Mr. Ivánchin-Písaref, a landed proprietor from the province of Yároslav; Dr. Martínof, a surgeon from Stávropol; Iván Petróvich Belokónski, a young author and newspaper man from Kiev; Leonídas Zhebunóf, formerly a student in the Kiev university; Miss Zenaïd Zatsépina, and Dmítiri Kléments. The wives of Dr. Martínof and Mr. Ivánchin-Písaref were in exile with them; both spoke English, and in their hospitable houses we were so cordially welcomed and were made to feel so perfectly at home that we visited them as often as we dared. Dr. Martínof was a man of wealth and culture, and at the time of his arrest was the owner of a large estate near Stávropol in the Caucasus. When he was banished his property was put into the hands of an administrator appointed by the Minister of the Interior, and he was allowed for his maintenance a mere pittance of fifty dollars a month. He had never had a judicial trial, and had never been deprived legally of any of his civil rights; and yet by order of the Tsar his estate had been taken away from him and he had been banished by administrative process, with his wife and child, to this remote part of Eastern Siberia. He was not allowed at first even to practise his profession; but this the Minister of the Interior finally gave him permission to do. Some time in December, 1885, a few weeks before we reached Minusínsk, a man knocked at Dr. Martinof's door late one night and

said that a peasant who lived in a village not far from the town had been attacked in the forest by a bear, and so terribly mangled and lacerated that it was doubtful whether he could recover. There was no other surgeon in the town, and the messenger begged Dr. Martínof to come to the wounded peasant's assistance. At that late hour of the night it was not practicable to get permission from the police to go outside the limits of the town, and Dr Martínof, thinking that he would return before morning, and that the urgency of the case would excuse a mere technical violation of the rule concerning absence without leave, went with the messenger to the suburban village, set the peasant's broken bones, sewed up his wounds, and saved his life. Early in the morning he returned to Minusínsk, thinking that no one in the town except his wife would be aware of his temporary absence. The *isprávník*, Známen-ski, however, heard in some way of the incident, and like the stupid and brutal formalist that he was, made a report to General Pedashénko, the governor of the province, stating that the political exile Martínof had left the town without permission, and asking for instructions. The governor directed that the offender be arrested and imprisoned. Dr. Martínof thereupon wrote to the governor a letter, of which the following is a copy.

MINUSÍNSK, December 3, 1885.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR OF THE PROVINCE OF YENISÉISK: On this 3d day of December, 1885, I have been notified of the receipt of an order from your Excellency directing that I be arrested and imprisoned for temporarily leaving the town of Minusínsk without permission. It seems to me to be my duty to explain to your Excellency that I went outside the limits of Minusínsk for the purpose of rendering urgently needed medical assistance to a patient who had been attacked by a bear, and whose life was in extreme danger as the result of deep wounds and broken bones. There is no surgeon in the town except myself to whom application for help in such a case could be made. My services were required immediately, and, in view of the oath taken by me

as a surgeon, I regarded it as my sacred duty to go, the same night I was called, to the place where the injured man lay. I had neither time nor opportunity, therefore, to give the police notice of my contemplated absence. Besides that, in the permission to practise given me by the Minister of the Interior there is nothing to prohibit my going outside the limits of the town to render medical assistance. If, notwithstanding this explanation, your Excellency finds it necessary to hold me to accountability, I beg your Excellency to issue such orders as may be requisite to have me dealt with, not by administrative process, which would be inconsistent with section thirty-two of the Imperially confirmed "Rules Relating to Police Surveillance," but by the method indicated in the "Remark" which follows that section, and which provides that a person guilty of unauthorized absence from his assigned place of residence shall be duly tried. In order that such misunderstandings may not occur in future, I beg your Excellency to grant me, upon the basis of section eight of the "Rules Relating to Police Surveillance," permission to go temporarily outside the limits of the town to render medical assistance.

SERGE V. MARTÍNOF, M. D.

Governor Pedashénko did not condescend to make any direct reply to this letter, but merely sent the letter itself to the *isprávník* Známenski with the laconic indorsement, "Let him be tried." Of course an offender in Russia cannot expect to be tried in less than a year after the accusation is made; and up to the time of our departure from Minusínsk the accused in this case was still waiting for arraignment. Since my return to the United States I have been informed by letters from Siberia that five years more have been added to Dr. Martínof's term of exile. Whether this supplementary punishment was inflicted upon him because he dared to save a poor peasant's life without the permission of the *isprávník*, or merely because his behavior generally was that of a self-respecting Russian nobleman, and not that of a cringing slave, I do not know. When the end of an exile's term of banishment draws near, the local authorities are called upon for a report with regard to his behavior. If the report be unfavorable, an addition of from

one to five years is made to his period of exile. Perhaps the *isprávník* Známenski reported that Dr. Martínof was "insubordinate"; and very likely he was insubordinate. He certainly had grievances enough to make him so. One peculiarly exasperating thing happened to him almost in my presence. There is an administrative regulation in force in most Siberian penal settlements, requiring political exiles to appear at the police-station daily, semi-weekly, or weekly, and sign their names in a register. The intention, apparently, is to render escapes more difficult by forcing the exile to come, at short intervals, to the local authorities, and say, "I am still here; I have n't escaped." And as a proof that he has n't escaped they make him sign his name in a book. It is a stupid regulation; it affords no security whatever against escapes; it is intensely humiliating to the personal pride of the exile, especially if the authorities happen to be brutal, drunken, or depraved men; and it causes more heartburning and exasperation than any other regulation in the whole exile code.

One morning about a week after our arrival in Minusínsk I was sitting in the house of Ivánchin-Písaref, when the door opened and Dr. Martínof came in. For a moment I hardly recognized him. His eyes had a strained expression, his face was colorless, his lips trembled, and he was evidently struggling with deep and strong emotion.

"What has happened?" cried Mrs. Ivánchin-Písaref, rising as if to go to him.

"The *isprávník* has ordered Márya [his wife] to come to the police-station," he replied.

For an instant I did not catch the significance of this fact, nor understand why it should so excite him. A few words of explanation, however, made the matter clear. Mrs. Martínof was in hourly expectation of her confinement. I remembered, when I thought of it, that only the night before I had had an engagement to spend the evening at Dr. Martínof's house, and that he had sent me word not



to come because his wife was ill. As it happened to be the day that all of the political exiles were required to sign their names in the police register, Dr. Martínof had gone to the *isprávník*, explained his wife's condition, said that she was unable to go out, and asked that she be excused. The *isprávník* made a coarse remark about her, which must have been hard for a husband to bear, but which Dr. Martínof dared not resent, and said that if the woman was not able to walk of course she could not come to the police-station. This was Friday afternoon, and it was on the evening of that day that Dr. Martínof sent word to me not to come to his house on account of his wife's illness. It turned out, however, that her suffering was not decisive, and early the next morning, by her husband's advice, she took a walk of a few moments back and forth in front of the house. The *isprávník* happened to drive past, and saw her. He went at once to the police-station, and from there sent an officer to her with a curt note, in which he said that if she was able to walk out she was able to come to the police-station, and that if she did not make her appearance within a certain short specified time, he should be compelled to treat her "with all the rigor of the law." The poor woman, therefore, had to choose between the risk, on the one hand, of having her child born at the police-station in the presence of the *isprávník* and his green-eyed assistant, and the certainty, on the other, of having it born in one of the cells of the Minusínsk prison. If her husband should attempt to defend her, or to resist the officers sent to take her into custody, he would simply be knocked down and thrown into a solitary-confinement cell, and then, perhaps, be separated from her altogether by a sentence of banishment to the arctic region of Yakútsk on the general and elastic charge of "resisting the authorities." The stupid brutality of the *isprávník's* action in this case was made the more conspicuous by the circumstance that Mrs. Martínof's term of exile would expire by limitation in about two weeks,

and she would then be a free woman. Not only, therefore, was her condition such as to render escape at that time utterly impossible, but there was no imaginable motive for escape. Long before she would recover from her confinement sufficiently to travel she would be free to go where she liked. This made no difference, however, to the *isprávník*. A certain administrative regulation gave him power to drag to the police-station a delicate, refined, and cultivated woman at the moment when she was about to undergo the great trial of maternity; and drag her to the police-station he did. I think that his action was the result rather of stupidity and senseless formalism than of deliberate malignity. The rules and regulations which control the actions of a petty Russian bureaucrat—as contradistinguished from a human being—require the periodical appearance of every political exile at the police-station. No exception is made by the law in favor of women in childbirth, or women whose term of banishment is about to expire; and the *isprávník* Známenski acted in the case of the wife just as he had previously acted in the case of the husband—that is, obeyed the rules with a stupid and brutish disregard of all the circumstances.

The two weeks that we spent in Minusínsk were full of interest and adventurous excitement. The *isprávník* was evidently suspicious of us, notwithstanding our open letters, and did not return our call. The green-eyed inspector of police surprised me one day in the house of the political exile Mr. Ivánchin-Písaref, and doubtless made a report thereupon to his superior officer, and it seemed sometimes as if even science would not save us. I succeeded, however, in establishing pleasant personal relations with the colonel of gendarmes and the Government procureur from Krasnoyársk, told them frankly all about our acquaintance with Kléments, Ivánchin-Písaref, and the other political exiles, as if it was the most natural thing in the world for us to meet them on account of our common interest in archæology,

anthropology, and the museum, and behaved, generally, as if it afforded me the greatest pleasure to tell them—the colonel of gendarmes and the procureur—all that I was doing in Minusínsk, and to share with them all my experiences. What reports were made to St. Petersburg with regard to us I do not know; but they had no evil results. We were not searched and we were not arrested.

Upon the advice of some of my friends in Minusínsk, I decided to get rid of all my note-books, documents, letters from political convicts, and other dangerous and incriminating papers, by sending them through the mails to a friend in St. Petersburg. To intrust such material to the Russian postal department seemed a very hazardous thing to do, but my friends assured me that the postal authorities in Minusínsk were honorable men, who would not betray to the police the fact that I had sent such a package, and that there was little probability of its being opened or examined in St. Petersburg. They thought that the danger of losing my notes and papers in the mails was not nearly so great as the danger of having them taken from me as the result of a police search. The material in question amounted in weight to about forty pounds, but as packages of all sizes are commonly sent by mail in Russia, mere bulk in itself was not a suspicious circumstance. I had a box made by an exiled Polish carpenter, took it to my room at night, put into it the entire results of my Siberian experience,—most of the dangerous papers being already concealed in the covers of books and the hollow sides of small boxes,—sewed it up carefully in strong canvas, sealed it with more than twenty seals, and addressed it to a friend in St. Petersburg whose political trustworthiness was beyond suspicion and whose mail, I believed, would not be tampered with. Thursday morning about half an hour before the semi-weekly post was to leave Minusínsk for St. Petersburg, I carried the box down into the courtyard under the cover of an overcoat, put it into a sleigh, threw a robe over it, and



THE "PLAGUE GUARD."

went with it myself to the post-office. The officials asked no question, but weighed the package, gave me a written receipt for it, and tossed it carelessly upon a pile of other mail matter that a clerk was putting into large leather pouches. I gave one last look at it, and left the post-office



with a heavy heart. From that time forward I was never free from anxiety about it. That package contained all the results of my Siberian work, and its loss would have been simply irreparable. As week after week passed, and I heard nothing about it, I was strongly tempted to telegraph my friend and find out whether it had reached him; but I knew that such a telegram might increase the risk, and I refrained.

On many accounts we were more reluctant to leave Minusínsk than any other town at which we had stopped on our homeward way, but as a distance of 3000 miles still lay between us and St. Petersburg, and as we were anxious to reach European Russia, if possible, before the breaking up of the winter roads, it was time for us to resume our journey. Thursday, February 4th, we made farewell calls upon the political exiles, as well as upon Mr. Martiánof, Mr. Sa-fiánof, and Dr. Malínin, who had been particularly kind to us, and set out with a *tróika* of "free" horses for the city of Tomsk, distant 475 miles. Instead of following the Yeniséi River back to Krasnoyársk, which would have been going far out of our way, we decided to leave it a short distance below Minusínsk and proceed directly to Tomsk by a short cut across the steppes, keeping the great Siberian road on our right all the way. Nothing of interest happened to us until late in the evening, when, just as we were turning up from the river into a small peasant village, the name of which I have now forgotten, both we and our horses were startled by the sudden appearance of a wild-looking man in a long, tattered sheepskin coat, who, from the shelter of a projecting cliff, sprang into the road ahead of us, shouting a hoarse but unintelligible warning, and brandishing in the air an armful of blazing birch-bark and straw.

"What's the matter?" I said to our driver, as our horses recoiled in affright.

"It's the plague-guard," he replied. "He says we must be smoked."

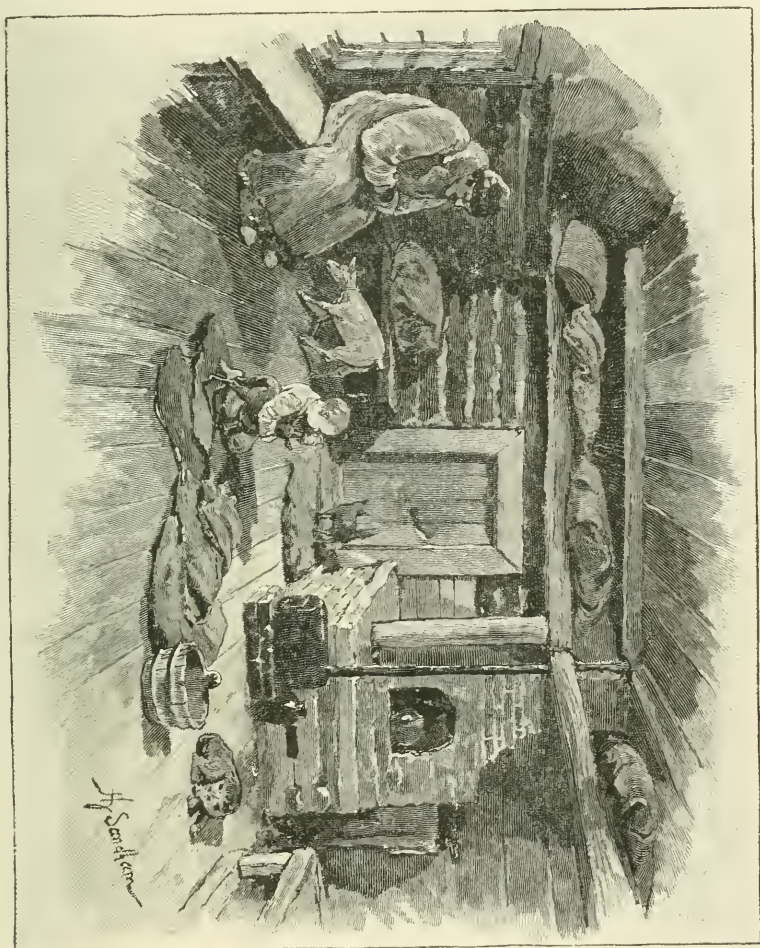
The cattle-plague was then prevailing extensively in the

valley of the upper Yeniséi, and it appeared that round this village the peasants had established a sanitary cordon with the hope of protecting their own live stock from contagion. They had heard of the virtues of fumigation, and were subjecting to that process every vehicle that crossed the village limits. The "plague-guard" burned straw, birch-bark, and other inflammable and smoke-producing substances around and under our *pavóska* until we were half strangled and our horses were frantic with fear, and then he told us gravely that we were "purified" and might proceed.

On Friday, the day after our departure from Minusínsk, the weather became cold and blustering. The road after we left the Yeniséi was very bad, and late in the afternoon we were overtaken by a howling arctic gale on a great desolate plain, thirty or forty *verst*s west of the Yeniséi and about one hundred and fifty *verst*s from Minusínsk. The road was soon hidden by drifts of snow, there were no fences or telegraph-poles to mark its location, we could not proceed faster than a walk, and every three or four hundred yards we had to get out and push, pull, or lift our heavy *pavóska* from a deep soft drift. An hour or two after dark we lost the road altogether, and became involved in a labyrinth of snowdrifts and shallow ravines where we could make little or no progress, and where our tired and dispirited horses finally balked and refused to move. In vain our driver changed them about, harnessed them tandem, coaxed, cursed, and savagely whipped them. They were perfectly well aware that they were off the road, and that nothing was to be gained by floundering about aimlessly the rest of the night on that desert of drifted snow. The driver ejaculated, "Akh Bozhemoi! Bozhemoi!" [O my God! my God!] besought his patron saint to inform him what he had done to deserve such punishment, and finally whimpered and cried like a school-boy in his wrath and discouragement. I suggested at last that he had better leave us there, mount one of the horses, find the road, if

possible, go to the nearest settlement, and then come back after us with lanterns, fresh horses, and men. He acted upon the suggestion, and Frost and I were left alone on

INTERIOR OF A PEASANT'S HOUSE NEAR TOMSK. (SEE P. 418.)



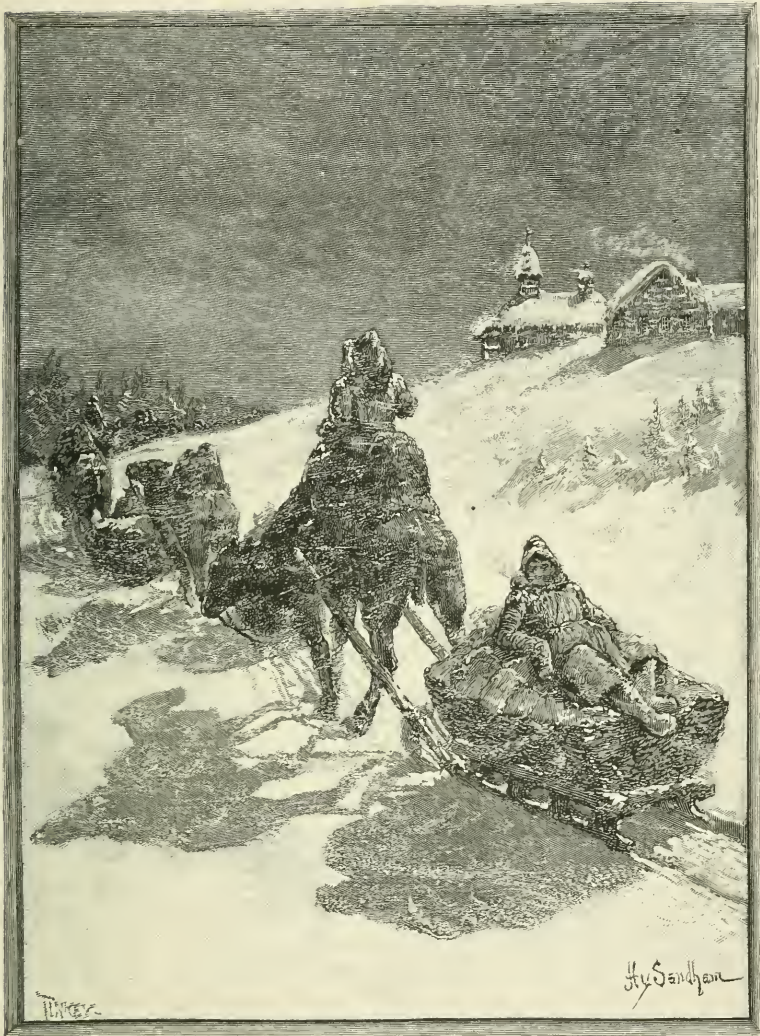
the steppe in our half-capsized *paróska*, hungry, exhausted, and chilled to the bone, with nothing to do but listen to the howling of the wind and wonder whether our driver in the darkness and in such weather would be able to find a settlement. The long, dismal night wore away at last, the

storm abated a little towards morning, and soon after day-break our driver made his appearance with ropes, crow-bars, three fresh horses, and a stalwart peasant from a neighboring village. They soon extricated us from our difficulties, and early in the forenoon we drove into the little settlement of Ribálskaya, and alighted from our *paróška* after fourteen hours' exposure to a winter gale on a desolate steppe without sleep, food, or drink. When we had warmed and refreshed ourselves with hot tea in a peasant's cabin, we ate what breakfast we could get, slept two or three hours on a plank bench, and then with fresh horses and a new driver went on our way.

The overland journey in winter from the boundary line of Eastern Siberia to St. Petersburg has often been made and described by English and American travelers, and it does not seem to me necessary to dwell upon its hardships, privations, and petty adventures. We reached Tomsk in a temperature of thirty-five degrees below zero on the fifth day after our departure from Minusínsk, renewed our acquaintance with the Tomsk colony of exiles, gave them the latest news from their friends in the Trans-Baikál and at the mines of Kará, and then continued our journey homeward. On the 22d of February—Washington's birthday—we reached Omsk, stopped there twenty-four hours to rest and celebrate, and then went on by what is known as the "merchants' short cut" to Tobólsk. We were again surprised in the vicinity of Omsk by the appearance of camels. We had of course reconciled our preconceived ideas with the existence of camels in Siberia during the summer, but we had never stopped to think what became of them in the winter, and were very much astonished one frosty moonlight night to see three or four of them drawing Kírhish sledges.

Beyond Omsk we began to meet enormous freight-sledges of a new type drawn by six or eight horses and loaded with goods from the Irbit fair. Some of them were as big as a





KÍRGHIS CAMEL SLEDGES.

cottage gable-roof with a little trough-shaped box perched on the summit for the driver, the merchant, and his clerk. The great annual fair at Irbít in Western Siberia is second in importance only to the world-renowned fair of Nízjni Nóvgorod, and is visited by merchants and traders from

the remotest parts of northern Asia. The freight-sledges that go to it and come from it in immense numbers in the latter part of the winter cut up the roads in the vicinity of Timmén and Tobólsk so that they become almost impassable on account of deep ruts, hollows, and long, dangerous side-hill slides. We capsized twice in this part of the route notwithstanding the wide spread of our outriggers, and once we were dragged in our overturned *pavóska* down a long, steep hill and badly shaken and bruised before we could extricate ourselves from our sheepskin bag and crawl out. Rest and sleep on such a road were of course almost out of the question, and I soon had reason to feel very anxious about Mr. Frost's health. He was quiet and patient, bore suffering and privation with extraordinary fortitude, and never made the least complaint of anything; but it was evident, nevertheless, that he was slowly breaking down under the combined nervous and physical strain of sleeplessness, jolting, and constant fear of arrest. When we reached Tobólsk on the last day of February, and took off our heavy furs in the little log hotel under the bluff to which we had been recommended, I was shocked at his appearance. How serious his condition was may be inferred from the fact that about midnight that night he crept noiselessly over to the place where I was lying asleep on the floor, pressed his lips closely to my ear, and in a hoarse whisper said, "They are going to murder us!" I was so taken by surprise, and so startled, that I snatched my revolver from under my pillow and had it cocked before I waked sufficiently to grasp the situation, and to realize that Mr. Frost was in a high nervous fever, due chiefly to prolonged sleeplessness, and that the contemplated murder was nothing but an hallucination.

In the course of the next day I made, under the guidance of the chief of police, a very superficial examination of two convict prisons, but did not find much in them that was of interest. I also visited the belfry where now hangs the

first exile to Siberia—the famous bell of Uglích, which was banished to Tobólsk in 1593 by order of the Tsar Bóris Gúdenof for having rung the signal for the insurrec-

MERCHANTS' SLEIGHS COMING FROM THE IRBIT FAIR. (SEE P. 418.)



tion in Uglích at the time of the assassination of the Crown Prince Dmítri. The exiled bell has been purged of its iniquity, has received ecclesiastical consecration, and now calls the orthodox people of Tobólsk to prayers. The inhabitants of Uglích have recently been trying to recover



their bell upon the plea that it has been sufficiently punished by three centuries of exile for its political untrustworthiness in 1593, and that it ought now to be allowed to return to its home. The mayor of Tobólsk, however, argues that the bell was exiled for life, and that, consequently, its term of banishment has not yet expired. He contends, furthermore, that even admitting the original title of the Uglích people three centuries of adverse possession by the city of Tobólsk have divested the claimants of all their rights, and that the bell should be allowed to remain where it is. The question, it is said, will be carried into the Russian courts.

Late in the afternoon I walked over to the little plateau east of the city where stands the monument erected in honor of Yermák, the conqueror of Siberia, and then, returning to the hotel, paid our bill, ordered post-horses, and proceeded to Tiúmén, reaching the latter place on the following day.

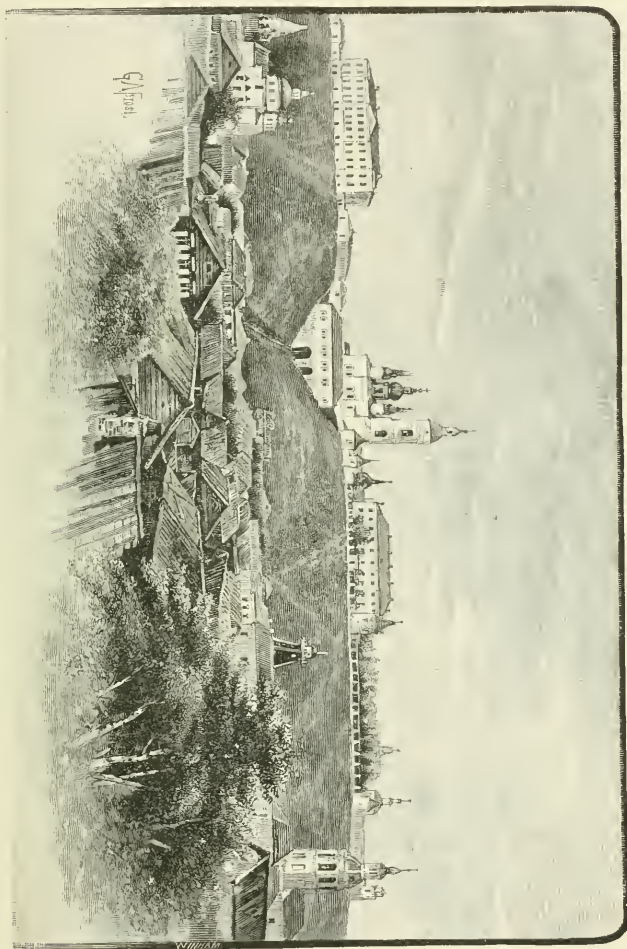
A week's rest at Tiúmén, with plenty of sleep and good food, and the inspiriting companionship of English-speaking people, so restored Mr. Frost's strength that we were able to start for St. Petersburg by rail Tuesday, March 9th. How delightful it was to move swiftly out of Tiúmén in a luxurious railroad car only those can conceive who have traveled eight thousand miles in springless vehicles over Siberian roads.

We reached the Russian capital on the 19th of March, and as soon as I had left Mr. Frost at a hotel with our baggage, I called a *dróshky*, drove to the house of the friend to whom I had sent my precious box of note-books and papers, and, with a fast-beating heart, rang the bell and gave the servant my card. Before my friend made his appearance I was in a perfect fever of excitement and anxiety. Suppose the box had been opened by the post-office or police officials, and its contents seized. What should I have to show for almost a year of work and suffering?



How much could I remember of all that I had seen and heard? What should I do without the written record of

TOBOLSK — THE UPPER PLATEAU. (SEE P. 422.)



names, dates, and all the multitudinous and minute details that give verisimilitude to a story?

My friend entered the room with as calm and unruffled a countenance as if he had never heard of a box of papers, and my heart sank. I had half expected to be able to see that box in his face. I cannot remember whether

I expressed any pleasure at meeting him, or made any inquiries with regard to his health. For one breathless moment he was to me merely the possible custodian of a box. I think he asked me when I arrived, and remarked that he had some letters for me; but all that I am certain of is that, after struggling with myself for a moment, until I thought I could speak without any manifestation of excitement, I inquired simply, "Did you receive a box from me?"

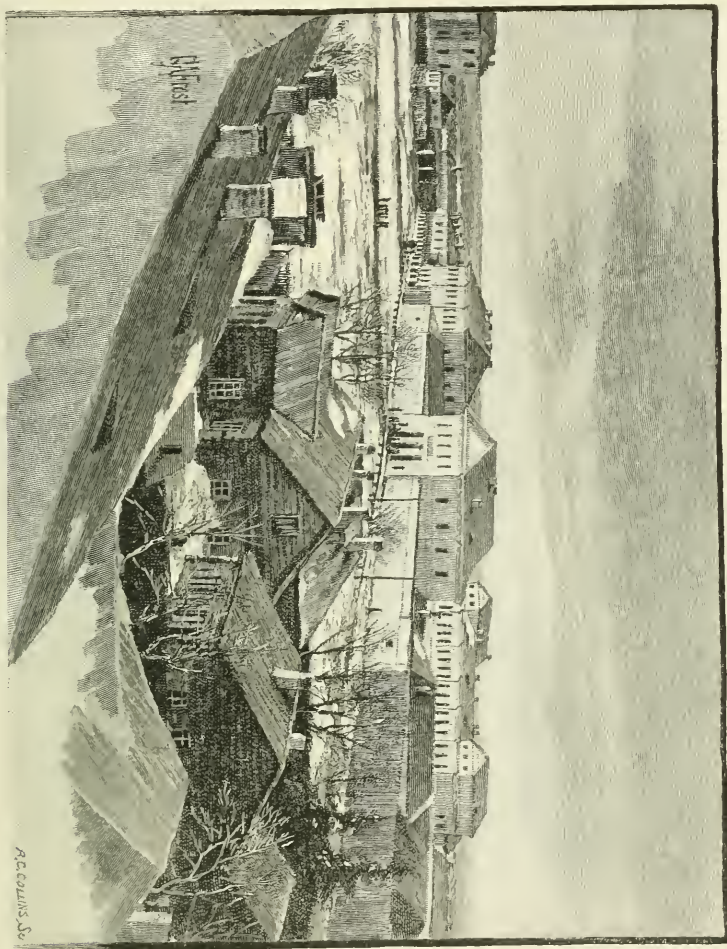
"A box?" he repeated interrogatively. Again my heart sank; evidently he had not received it. "Oh, yes," he continued, as if with a sudden flash of comprehension; "the big square box sewed up in canvas. Yes; that's here."

I was told afterward that there was no perceptible change in the gloomy March weather of St. Petersburg at that moment, but I am confident, nevertheless, that at least four suns, of the largest size known to astronomy, began immediately to shine into my friend's front windows, and that I could hear robins and meadowlarks singing all up and down the Névski Prospékt.

I forwarded the precious notes and papers to London by a special messenger, in order to avoid the danger of a possible search of my own baggage at the frontier, and then sent our passports to the municipal police with the usual notification that we desired to leave the Empire. The documents were promptly returned to us with a curt verbal message to the effect that we could not leave the Empire "without the permission of the governor-general of Eastern Siberia." As that official was about four thousand miles away, and we could not possibly get the necessary permission from him in less than three months, there was obviously nothing left for us to do but make complaint at the United States legation. I called upon Mr. Wurts, who was then acting as *chargé d'affaires*, and told him that the police would not allow us to leave the Empire.

"Why not?" he inquired.

"I don't know," I replied. "They say that we must have permission from the governor-general of Eastern Siberia,



THE CONVICT PRISON, TOBOLSK. (SEE P. 420.)

and of course we can't get that in three months—perhaps not in six months."

Mr. Wurts wrote a polite note to the chief of the bureau of passports in the Foreign Office, asking for information with regard to the alleged refusal of the police to allow two American citizens to leave the Empire. I delivered the

note in person, in order that I might take the bull by the horns and find out definitely what the matter was. The chief of the passport bureau, an Italian whose name I have now forgotten, read the communication attentively, looked scrutinizingly at me, crossed the room and held a whispered consultation with a subordinate, and then returning said: "Mr. Kennan, have you ever had a permit to reside in the Russian Empire before this time?"<sup>1</sup>

"I have," I replied.

"Do you remember when?"

"Yes, in 1868."

"Will you be kind enough to tell me at about what season of the year?"

"It was some time in the spring, and I think in March."

He touched a bell to summon a clerk, and said to the latter, "Find the permit to reside that Mr. George Kennan, an American citizen, took out in March, 1868."

The clerk bowed and withdrew. In three or four minutes he returned bringing the original permit to reside that I had taken out *eighteen years* before, and a printed schedule of twenty or thirty questions concerning myself and my life which I had then answered in writing. The chief examined carefully my earlier record as an officer of the Russian-American Telegraph Company, held another whispered consultation with a subordinate, and then, coming back to me, said, "There are certain informalities, Mr. Kennan, in your present papers that would justify us in keeping you here until we could communicate with the governor-general of Eastern Siberia; but if you will bring me a formal letter from the American Minister, asking that you be allowed to leave the Empire without regard to such informalities, I will give you the necessary permission."

I could not see how a formal letter from the diplomatic

<sup>1</sup> A foreigner is permitted to live six months in Russia upon his own national passport, but after that time he is required to take out a Russian permit to reside. Both Mr. Frost and I had such permits and neither of them had expired.





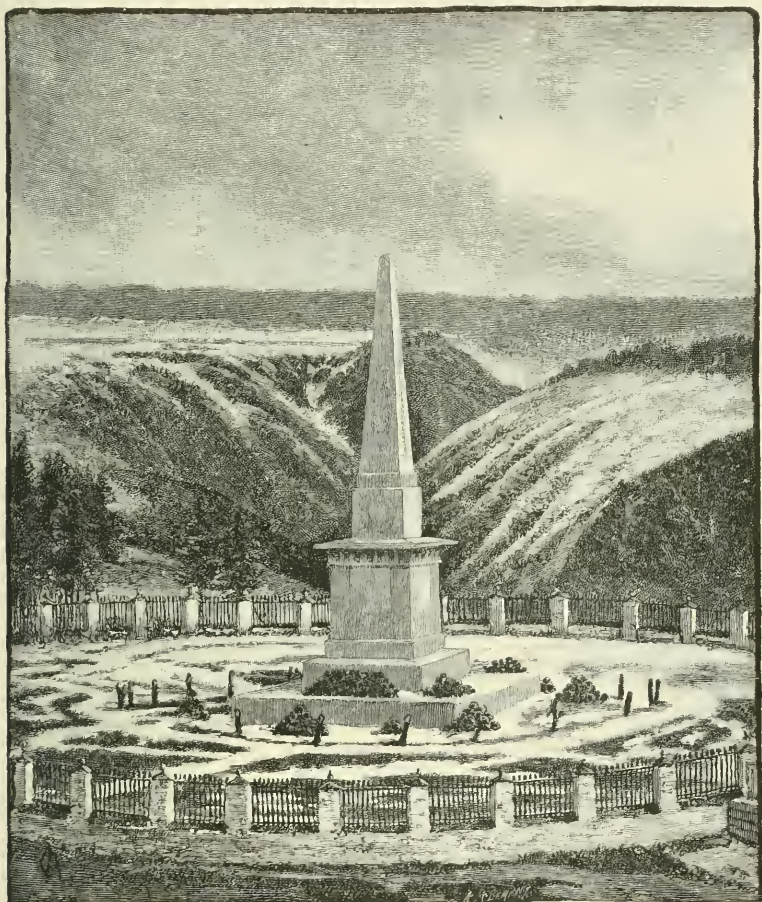
THE EXILED BELL OF UGLICH. (SEE P. 421.)

representative of the United States could cure the defects in a Russian document duly issued by authority of the Tsar, and properly stamped, signed, and sealed by the East-Siberian authorities; but I was not in the habit of raising

unnecessary questions in my dealings with the Russian police, and I had good reason, moreover, to say as little as possible about Siberia. I obtained the "formal letter" from Mr. Wurts, brought it to the passport bureau, declared that I was not a Jew, signed my name at the bottom of sundry blanks, disbursed various small sums for stamps, sealing-wax, and paper, paid an official for showing me what to do, received a document which I was directed to take to the police-station of the precinct in which I resided, brought back from there another document addressed to the passport bureau, and finally, after four days of going back and forth from one circumlocution office to another, received a little book, about as big as a religious tract, which certified that there was no objection, on the part of anybody, to my leaving the Empire. Three days later I was in London.

It was my intention merely to write a full report from there to the editor of *The Century Magazine*, and then return to European Russia and continue my investigation; but my companion, Mr. Frost, was taken dangerously ill as a result of the tremendous mental and physical strain of our Siberian experience, and I could not leave him for almost a month. He had borne the extraordinary hardships and privations of our eight-thousand-mile ride through Siberia with heroic fortitude and without a single murmur of complaint; but his strength had given way at last, chiefly as the result of nervous excitement and prolonged insomnia. He recovered slowly, but on the 13th of April he was strong enough to sail for the United States, and on the 16th I took out a new passport and returned with my wife to St. Petersburg. I spent four months in making the acquaintance of Russian liberals, revolutionists, and officials in St. Petersburg, Tver, Moscow, Nízhni Nóvgorod, and Kazán; visited the friends and acquaintances of many of the political exiles whom I had met in Siberia and delivered the letters that I had for them;

called upon Mr. Vlangáli, assistant Minister of Foreign Affairs, General Órzhefski, the chief of gendarmes, and Mr. Gálkine Wrásskoy, the chief of the prison administration;



YERMÁK'S MONUMENT, TOBÓLSK. (SEE P. 422.)

inspected two of the large St. Petersburg prisons—the Litófski Zámok, and the House of Preliminary Detention—completed my investigation, so far as it seemed possible to do so, and finally returned to New York in August, 1886, after an absence of about sixteen months.



## CHAPTER XIII

### THE CHARACTER OF POLITICAL EXILES.

TO the student of modern Russian history few questions are more important, and none, perhaps, is more interesting, than the question suggested by the title of this chapter—what is the character of the men and women who have been exiled to Siberia for offenses comprehensively but vaguely known in Russia as “political”? Are all of these people alike in their dispositions, their aims, and their methods, or do they differ among themselves in these respects? Are they reasonable, patriotic, liberty-loving citizens, actuated by disinterested motives and provoked into violence only by intolerable oppression and injustice, or are they merely a gang of wrong-headed malcontents, visionary enthusiasts, and fanatical assassins who would be imprisoned or hanged in any civilized state? In short, are the Russian political exiles entitled to our sympathy, or do they deserve our reprobation? It has been my fortune to make the personal acquaintance of more than five hundred members of the anti-Government party<sup>1</sup> in Russia, including not less than three hundred of the so-called nihilists living in exile at the convict mines or in the penal settlements of Siberia. I have formed a definite and well-settled opinion with regard to their character, and

<sup>1</sup>Of course, strictly speaking, there is no such thing in Russia as an “anti-Government party” in the sense of an organized and outspoken “opposition.” I use the words merely to designate the whole body of people who secretly favor, or openly work for, the overthrow of the autoeracy.



it is my purpose, in this chapter, briefly to state it and give my reasons for it.

There is a widely prevalent impression in western Europe and the United States that the anti-Government party or class in Russia is essentially homogeneous; that its members are all nihilists; that they prefer violence to any other means of redressing wrongs; that they aim simply and solely at the destruction of all existing institutions; and that, in this so-called nihilism, there is something peculiar and mysterious—something that the Western mind cannot fully comprehend owing to its ignorance of the Russian character.<sup>1</sup> This impression seems to me to be a wholly erroneous one. In the first place the anti-Government party in Russia is not, in any sense of the word, homogeneous. Its members belong to all ranks, classes, and conditions of the Russian people; they hold all sorts of opinions with regard to social and political organization; and the methods by which they propose to improve the existing condition of things extend through all possible

<sup>1</sup> The popular view of nihilism is shown in the following quotations, the number of which might be almost indefinitely extended.

"Nihilism, in its largest acceptance, is the flat negation of all faith and hope, whether in the social, political, or spiritual order." ["The Spell of the Russian Writers," by Harriet W. Preston. *Atlantic Monthly Magazine*, August, 1887, p. 208.]

"Nihilism is an explosive compound generated by the contact of the Slav character with western ideas." . . . The Nihilists, "like the maniacs of the French Terror, were too keenly alive to existing evils to see any road out of them except by wholesale demolition. A breach with the national past had no terrors to them, because they had broken with it already. Crime was not repulsive, for the landmarks of good and evil had been swept away." ["Russia and the Revolution," by B.

F. C. Costelloe. *Macmillan's Magazine*, March, 1882, p. 408.]

"A minority of decided socialists, left to themselves, . . . indulged in the conviction of the necessity of overturning all existing order; of annihilating property, state, church, marriage, society, etc., of placing communism instead of socialism on the throne; and of beginning this great work by the murder of the Tsar. This small but fanatical party were called Nihilists because they would accept absolutely nothing, and only saw happiness in the destruction of everything existing." ["Modern Russia," by Dr. Julius Eckhardt, p. 166.]

Compare the above quotations with the declaration of principles of the Russian revolutionists, and the letter of the terrorist executive committee to Alexander III., which will be found in Appendix C.

gradations, from peaceful remonstrance, in the form of collective petition, to terroristic activity, in the shape of bomb-throwing and assassination. The one common bond that unites them is the feeling, which they all have, that the existing state of affairs has become insupportable and must be changed.

In the second place there is no anti-Government party in Russia to which the term nihilistic can properly be applied. This may seem, perhaps, like a very strange statement, in view of the fact that we have never heard of any other anti-Government party in Russia; but it is a true statement nevertheless. There is no party in the Empire that deliberately chooses violence and bloodshed as the best conceivable means of attaining its ends; there is no party that aims simply and solely at the overthrow of existing institutions; and there is no party that preaches or practises a philosophy of mere negation and destruction. I make these assertions confidently, because my acquaintance with so-called nihilists is probably more extensive and thorough than that of any other foreigner, and I have discussed these questions with them for many hundreds of hours. Liberals, reformers, socialistic theorists of the Belamy type, political economists of the Henry George type, republicans, constitutionalists, revolutionists, and terrorists I have met in all varieties, both in European Russia and in Siberia; but a nihilist in the proper, or even in the popular, signification of that word—never. Of course, if you use the term nihilist as you would use the term “Know-nothing,” merely to denote a certain social or political party, and without reference to the original significance of the appellation, you may apply it to any body of men—to the Knights of Labor for example, or to the Farmers’ Alliance; but if you use the word with a consciousness of its primary signification, as you would use the word “yellow” to describe an orange, you cannot properly apply it to any branch of the anti-Government party in Russia.

There is in the Empire no party, organization, or body of men to which it is applicable.

The word nihilist was introduced in Russia by Tourguénef, who used it in his novel "Fathers and Children" to describe a certain type of character which had then recently made its appearance in the ranks of the rising generation, and which he contrasted, sharply and effectively, with the prevailing types in the generation that was passing from the stage. As applied to Bazaróf, the skeptical, materialistic, iconoclastic surgeon's son in Tourguénef's novel, the word nihilist had a natural appropriateness which the Russian public at



VÉRA PHILLÍPOVA [BORN FIGNER].

(A terrorist who has been immured in the castle of Schlüsselberg for life.)

once recognized. There were differences of opinion as to the question whether any such class as that represented by Bazaróf really existed, but there was no difference of opinion with regard to the appropriateness of the term as applied to that particular character. It was fairly descriptive of the type. The word nihilist, however, was soon caught up by the conservatives and by the Government, and was applied indiscriminately by them as an opprobrious and discrediting nickname to all persons who were not satisfied with the existing order of things, and

who sought, by any active method whatever, to bring about changes in Russian social and political organization. To some of the reformers, iconoclasts, and extreme theorists of that time the term nihilist was perhaps fairly applicable, and by some of them it was even accepted, in a spirit of pride and defiance, as an appellation which, although a nickname, expressed concisely their opposition to all forms of authority based on force. To the great mass of the Russian malecontents, however, it had then, and has now, no appropriate reference whatever. It would be quite as fair, and quite as reasonable, to say that the people in the United States who were once called "Know-nothings" were persons who really did not know anything, as to say that the people in Russia who are now called nihilists are persons who really do not believe in anything, nor respect anything, nor do anything except destroy. By persistent iteration and reiteration, however, the Russian Government and the Russian conservative class have succeeded in making the world accept this opprobrious nickname as really descriptive of the character and opinions of all their opponents, from the terrorist who throws an explosive bomb under the carriage of the Tsar, down to the peaceful and law-abiding member of a provincial assembly who respectfully asks leave to petition the Crown for the redress of grievances. It would be hard to find another instance in history where an incongruous and inappropriate appellation has thus been fastened upon a heterogeneous mass of people to whose beliefs and actions it has no sort of applicability, or a case in which an opprobrious nickname has had so confusing and so misleading an influence throughout the world. The political offenders most misrepresented and wronged by this nickname are, of course, the people of moderate opinions—the men and women who seek to prevent injustice or to obtain reforms by peaceful and legal methods, and who are exiled to Siberia merely because they have rendered themselves obnoxious to the ruling powers.



From the point of view of the Government there might be some propriety, perhaps, in the application of the term nihilist to a conspirator like Necháief, or to a regicide like Rissákof,—although in point of fact neither of them *was* a nihilist,—but there can be no possible reason or excuse for calling by that name a professor who opposes the inquisitorial provisions of the new university laws, an editor who questions the right of the Minister of the Interior to banish a man to Siberia without trial, or a member of a provincial assembly who persuades his fellow-delegates to join in a petition to the Crown asking for a constitution. These people are not nihilists; they are not even revolutionists; they are peaceable, law-abiding citizens, who are striving, by reasonable methods, to secure a better form of government; and yet, after having been removed from their official places, silenced by ministerial prohibition, and exiled without trial, they are misrepresented to the world as nihilists and enemies of all social order.<sup>1</sup> It seems to me extremely desirable that the use of the word nihilist to characterize a Russian political offender be discontinued. It is not accurately descriptive of any branch or fraction of the anti-Government party in Russia; it does great injustice to the liberals and the non-terroristic revolutionists, who constitute an overwhelming majority of that party; it is misleading to public opinion in Europe and America; and it deprives a large class of reasonable, temperate, and patriotic men and women of the sympathy to which they are justly entitled, by making it appear that they are opposed to all things, human and divine, except bomb-throwing and assassination. If an American journalist, in a discussion of Irish affairs, should class together such men as Patrick Ford, Justin McCarthy, ex-Representative Finerty, Patrick Egan, Charles Parnell, O'Donovan Rossa, John Morley, and the Phoenix Park assassins, and call them all "Fenians," he would probably furnish more amusement than instruc-

<sup>1</sup> See "The Word Nihilist" in Appendix C.

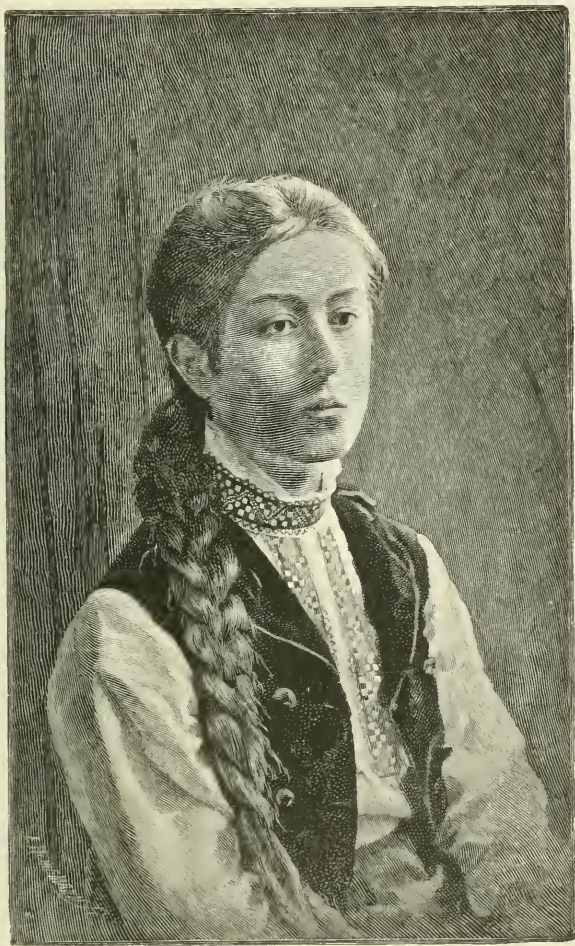
tion to his readers; and yet that is almost exactly what some English and American writers do when they discuss Russian affairs and speak of Russian political offenders generally as nihilists. The novelists Korolénko, Máchtet, and Staniukóvich, the critic Mikháilofski, the political economists Lopátin and Chudnófski, the naturalists Klémments and Mikhaiélis, and scores of other political offenders in Russia, are no more nihilists than McCarthy, Morley, and Gladstone are "Fenians"; and it is simply preposterous to call them by that name. It is time, I think, for writers in western Europe and the United States to make some discrimination between the different classes of political offenders in Russia, and to drop altogether the inaccurate and misleading term nihilist. The latter was only a discrediting nickname in the first place, and it has long since lost what little appropriateness it had as a verbal caricature of a transitory social type. If the reader will examine the documents in Appendix C, he will be satisfied, I think, that the men and women with whom the Russian Government has been waging war for the last twenty years are anything but nihilists. He may disapprove their principles and condemn their methods; but he will see the absurdity of describing them as a "small but fanatical party, who are called nihilists because they will accept absolutely nothing, and see happiness only in the destruction of everything existing." <sup>2</sup>

For the purposes of this chapter I shall divide Russian political exiles into three classes as follows.

1. THE LIBERALS.—In this class are included the cool-headed men of moderate opinions, who believe in the gradual extension of the principles of popular self-government; who favor greater freedom of speech and of the press; who strive to restrict the power of bureaucracy; who deprecate the persecution of religious dissenters and of the Jews;

<sup>1</sup> "Modern Russia," by Dr. Julius Eekhardt, p. 166. London, 1870.

who promote in every possible way the education and the moral up-lifting of the peasants; who struggle constantly against official indifference and caprice; who insist perti-



VÉRA FIGNER AS A YOUNG GIRL.

naciously upon "due process of law"; who are prominent in all good works; but who regard a complete overthrow of the existing form of government as impracticable at present even if desirable.

2. THE REVOLUTIONISTS.—In this class are comprised the Russian socialists, the so-called “peasantists” [*narodniki*], “people’s-willists” [*narodovóltsi*], and all reformers who regard the overthrow of the autoeracy as a matter of such immediate and vital importance as to justify conspiracy and armed rebellion. They differ from the terrorists chiefly in their unwillingness to adopt the methods of the highwayman and the blood-avenger. If they can see a prospect of organizing a formidable insurrection, and of crushing the autoeracy by a series of open blows, fairly delivered, they are ready to attempt it, even at the peril of death on the scaffold; but they do not regard it as wise or honorable to shoot a chief of police from ambush; to wreck an Imperial railroad train; to rob a Government sub-treasury; or to incite peasants to revolt by means of a forged manifesto in the name of the Tsar. The objects which they seek to attain are the same that the liberals have in view, but they would attain them by quicker and more direct methods, and they would carry the work of reform to greater extremes. The socialistic revolutionists, for example, would attempt to bring about a redistribution of the land and a more equitable division of the results of labor, and would probably encourage a further development of the principle of association, as distinguished from competition, which is so marked a feature of Russian economic life.<sup>1</sup>

3. THE TERRORISTS.—The only difference between the terrorists and the revolutionists is a difference in methods. So far as principles and aims are concerned the two classes are identical; but the revolutionists recognize and obey the rules of civilized warfare, while the terrorists resort to any and every measure that they think likely to injure or intimidate their adversaries. A terrorist, in fact, is noth-

<sup>1</sup> A fairly accurate idea of the principles of the socialistic revolutionists may be obtained from the documents in Appendix C.



ing more than an embittered revolutionist, who has found it impossible to unite and organize the disaffected elements of society in the face of a cloud of spies, an immense body of police, and a standing army; who has been exasperated to the last degree by cruel, unjust, and lawless treatment of himself, his family, or his friends; who has been smitten in the face every time he has opened his lips to explain or expostulate, and who, at last, has been seized with the Berserker madness, and has become, in the words of the St. Petersburg *Gólos*, "a wild beast capable of anything."<sup>1</sup>

In point of numerical strength these three classes follow one another in the order in which I have placed them. The liberals, who are the most numerous, probably comprise three-fourths of all the university graduates in the Empire outside of the bureaucracy. The revolutionists, who come next, undoubtedly number tens of thousands, but, under existing circumstances, it is impossible to make a trustworthy estimate of their strength, and all that I feel safe in saying is that, numerically, they fall far short of the liberals. The terrorists never were more than a meager handful in comparison with the population of the country, and they constituted only a fraction even of the anti-Government party; but they were resolute and daring men and women, and they attracted more attention abroad, of course, than a thousand times as many liberals, simply on account of the tragic nature of the rôles that they played on the stage of Russian public life. The liberals, who were limited by the censorship and the police on one side, and by their own renunciation of violence on the other, could do very little to attract the attention of foreign observers; but the terrorists, who defied all restrictions, who carried their lives constantly in their hands, and who waged war with dagger, pistol, and pyroxylin bomb, acquired a notoriety that was out of all proportion to their numerical strength.

<sup>1</sup> Magazine *Annals of the Fatherland*, Vol. CCLXII, p. 152. St. Petersburg, May, 1882.

I met among the political exiles in Siberia representatives of all the classes above described, and I have tried, in the earlier chapters of this work, to convey to the reader the impressions that they made upon me in personal intercourse. I desire now to state, as briefly as I can, my conclusions with regard to their character.

1. THE LIBERALS.—So far as I know, it is not pretended by anybody that the Russian liberals are bad men or bad citizens. The Government, it is true, keeps them under strict restraint, prohibits them from making public speeches,<sup>1</sup> drives them out of the universities,<sup>2</sup> forbids them to sit as delegates in provincial assemblies,<sup>3</sup> expels them from St. Petersburg,<sup>4</sup> suppresses the periodicals that they edit,<sup>5</sup> puts them under police surveillance and sends them to Siberia;<sup>6</sup> but, notwithstanding all this, it does not accuse them of criminality, nor even of criminal intent. It merely asserts that they are “politically untrustworthy”; that the “tendency” of their social activity is “pernicious”; or that, from an official point of view, their presence in a particular place is “prejudicial to public tranquillity.” These vague assertions mean, simply, that the liberals are in the way of the officials, and prevent the latter, to some extent, from doing what they want to do with the bodies, the souls, or the property of the Russian people.

<sup>1</sup>The case of Professor Orest Miller.

<sup>2</sup>The case of Professor S. A. Múromtsef, formerly pro-rector of the Moscow university.

<sup>3</sup>The case of Mr. Iván I. Petrunkevich, twice elected a member of the provincial assembly of Chernígov, and twice expelled and banished from the province by order of the Minister of the Interior.

<sup>4</sup>The case of the eminent essayist and critic N. K. Mikháilofski, banished from St. Petersburg the last time, only a few months ago, for the part taken

by him in the ceremonies at the funeral of the publicist Shelgunóf.

<sup>5</sup>Sáltikof's *Annals of the Fatherland*, Kraiéfski's *Gólos*, Zagóskin's *Sibír*, Adriánof's *Sibírskaya Gazéta*, and many others. See Appendix B.

<sup>6</sup>See, in Appendix B, a list of the names of Russian poets, novelists, critics, editors, political economists, historians, and naturalists who have been hanged, imprisoned, or banished since the beginning of the reign of the Emperor Nicholas.

An English writer, who signs himself "A Former Resident in Russia," and who seems to me to be not only extremely well informed, but just and trustworthy in his judgments, has recently published, in an English review, an article entitled "Some Truths about Russia," in which he refers to the Russian liberals as follows:

I have known scores of foreign residents in Russia, but never yet one who, whatever his political opinions may have been when he first visited the country, did not, at last, cordially sympathize with the ideas and aspirations of the Russian liberal party. Throughout the length and breadth of the Tsar's dominions there is not another group of men who, for genuine, wise patriotism, thorough grasp of the burning questions of the day, cordial sympathy with all that is noblest in the character of their countrymen, and exemplary political discipline, can compare with these liberals. The select band of thinkers and writers who rally round the *Russian Gazette* of Moscow and the review called *Russian Thought*, is not only an ornament to a nation still emerging from barbarism, but would do credit to an old constitutional country like our own.

I approve every word of this encomium, and believe it to be fully deserved. I am personally acquainted with many members of the Moscow group of liberals, and regard them with profound admiration and esteem. Few public men in the United States are better fitted than they, by education and by character, to take part in the government of a great state, and no Americans of my acquaintance are animated by more sincere or more disinterested patriotism. Many members, however, of the "select band of thinkers and writers who rally round the *Russian Gazette* and *Russian Thought*" have recently been in prison or in exile, among them Professor V. A. Góltsef, the late N. V. Shelgunóv, N. K. Mikháilofski, Vladímír Korolénko, K. M. Staniukóvich, Gregórie Máchtet, and the novelist Petropávlovski. The last three were in Siberia at the time of my journey, Professor Góltsef has been

under arrest within a year, and the talented critic Mikháilofski was expelled from St. Petersburg last April.

2. THE REVOLUTIONISTS.—The character of the Russian revolutionists is a controverted question, and in order to state the case against them as strongly as possible, and at the same time to show in what manner and upon what grounds the Government proceeds in its dealings with them, I will quote a part of the authorized official report of a political trial.

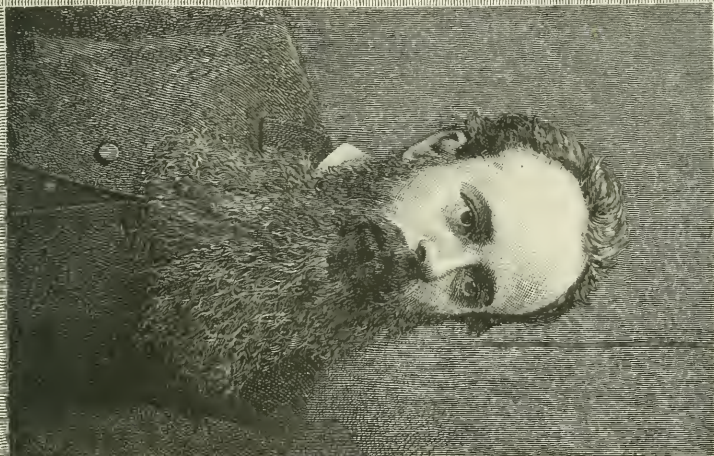
In February, 1880, a young man named Arsene Boguslávski was brought before a court-martial in the city of Kiev upon the charge of belonging to the revolutionary party and distributing seditious books. General Strélnikof, the prosecuting officer of the Crown, in asking for the condemnation of the accused, made what seemed to be a carefully prepared address, in the course of which he reviewed the history of the revolutionary movement in Russia and expressed the same opinions with regard to the character of the revolutionists that I heard from Colonel Nóvikof and half a dozen other officers in Siberia. These opinions fairly represent, I think, the Russian official view. The latter part of the procureur's speech, which is the part that deals with the question of character and motive, is summarized in the authorized report as follows:

The procureur then referred to the personnel of the revolutionary party, and asked who were these people that had gratuitously taken it upon themselves to reconstruct society and change the whole order of things. He showed that, with a few exceptions, they were mere boys—often minors. The average age of the accused in the Ishútin case, for example, was only twenty-two and a half years, and in the Necháief case only twenty-three and a half, while the average age of the forty-nine political offenders tried by court-martial up to that time in Kiev was only twenty-four and a half years. The level of their education was extremely low. Out of all the political prisoners brought before the Kiev court-martial, not one had been graduated from the higher educational institu-



tions, and only eight [two of them women] had even completed the course of study of the middle-class schools. The remaining forty-one either had not been at school at all, or had not been gradu-

GREGOIRE MACHET.



HELENE MACHET.



ated. The degree of maturity at which their opinions had arrived was also very low, as might be seen from their publications and from their declarations in the court-room, while their knowledge of the Russian people was limited for the most part to an acquaint-

tance with the waiters in *traktírs* [public tea-houses] . . . . .

The procureur then passed on to the question of the real object of Russian socialism, showed how that object was made evident by the actions of the party, and cited a surprising number of attempts on the part of socialists to appropriate the goods of others. He referred to a long list of such cases brought to light in connection with previous political trials, beginning with that of Ishútín, and called the attention of the court to the fact that the victims of the crimes of the socialists included even their own comrades. From all that he had previously said the procureur then drew the following conclusions: 1. That "the welfare of the people" was not, by any means, the real aim of the socialistic party. 2. That the destruction of religion, the family, and the state, was only a means of removing obstacles in the way of their real aim. 3. That their real aim was selfish, personal gain. The procureur admitted that, in contravention of these conclusions, it might be argued: first, that not all socialists were so poor as to be in need of other people's property; secondly, that some of them committed their crimes in the face of great and inevitable peril; and thirdly, that in the courtroom and on the scaffold they had shown great bravery. In rejoinder he said that while he believed selfish interest to be the chief aim of the party, he did not assert that it was common to all of its members without exception, but only to a majority of them. He would divide the members of the party, so far as their aims were concerned, into three categories, viz: 1. Fanatics, who, however, were so few in number that among the forty-nine politicals brought before the Kiev court-martial there was not one. 2. Persons carried away by the desire to play a conspicuous part anywhere, who wanted to declaim at meetings, to go on pilgrimages to the mound of Sténka Razín, and that sort of thing.<sup>1</sup> 3. Common robbers, who constituted a majority of the party. So far as the second objection was concerned, the procureur was of opinion that, of all the persons brought to justice up to that time, only Solivióf, and the Jew who tried to assassinate Count Lóris-Mélikof ran any great personal risk. All the rest had an opportunity to escape punishment. As for the bravado of the prisoners in the court-

<sup>1</sup> Sténka Razín was a noted Russian insurgent who raised a large force on the Volga River in 1667 and virtually ruled southeastern Russia for several years. He was ultimately captured,

brought in chains to Moscow, and there beheaded. He is the hero of the Russian revolutionists' song "On the Volga there is a Cliff." [Author's note.]

room, it ceased—at least in Kiev—when the first sentences of death were pronounced; and as for bravado on the scaffold, it was a mere matter of temperament, and was no more a characteristic of socialists than of common brigands . . . . In conclusion the procureur pointed out the danger that threatened social order and insisted that it was the duty of the court to treat such criminals with inflexible severity, bearing in mind the demoralizing influence of the verdict in the case of Véra Zasúlich.<sup>1</sup> Any mercy or forbearance shown to persons who had declared war against the state and against society would be criminal weakness. For such people there should be only one punishment—the scaffold.

After listening to the speech of counsel for the defense<sup>2</sup> the court allowed the accused an opportunity to speak his last words.<sup>3</sup> The prisoner admitted the distribution of the seditious books, but declared that he acted upon conviction, and with a desire to promote the welfare of the people by spreading among them the light of scientific knowledge and culture. He had never taken any part, he said, in bloodshed, nor in acts of violence. He regarded a social revolution as inevitable, but thought that it would come in the form of an economic crisis, and that it would be brought about peacefully. He interspersed his remarks with texts from the Holy Scriptures inculcating kindness, meekness, and love to one's neighbor.

After a short consultation the court found the prisoner guilty as charged in the indictment, and, in accordance with sections 249 and 977 of the penal code, sentenced him to death by hanging.

—*Official Report of the Trial of Arsene Boguslárski, Newspaper Gólos, St. Petersburg, March 4, 1880.*

<sup>1</sup> Véra Zasúlich was tried before a jury in March, 1878, upon the charge of having attempted to kill General Trepóf, the St. Petersburg chief of police. The fact that she shot Trepóf was not denied; but the jury regarded her act as morally justifiable, and, since they could not save her from punishment in any other way, they simply set aside all the evidence and found her not guilty. No political offender has had a trial by jury since that time. [Author's note.]

<sup>2</sup> When a political case is tried by a court-martial, the prisoner chooses, or the judges assign, one of the military

procureurs to conduct the defense; but as this officer is wholly dependent upon the Crown, and is totally out of sympathy, moreover, with the accused, the defense that he makes is a mere empty form and rarely goes beyond a perfunctory plea for mercy. [Author's note.]

<sup>3</sup> In trying criminal cases in Russian courts it is customary, after the evidence is all in and the speeches of counsel have been made, to allow the prisoner at the bar to say anything that he may then wish to say in his own defense. His remarks are known as his "last words." [Author's note.]



General Strélnikof, the procureur in this case, was a man of striking personality, an able officer, and a brilliant speaker; but he was also a bitter and vindictive enemy; and when speaking, without critics, in a closed court to a bench of sympathetic judges he allowed his passionate hatred of political offenders to carry him beyond the bounds, not only of truth, but of reason. Every artist knows that in drawing a caricature it is necessary carefully to preserve some of the features of the original, and to stop short of such exaggeration and distortion as may render the subject unrecognizable. General Strélnikof's caricatures never would suggest the persons that they misrepresent if they were not carefully labeled "political" and "socialist," as well as "robber" and "fanatic."<sup>1</sup> If the young prisoner in Kiev had been tried by a jury of his peers, in an open court, under the observation of a free press, with an unprejudiced judge to protect his witnesses and a fearless lawyer to protect him, General Strélnikof, I think, would have tried to make his caricature at least recognizable.

According to the statements of the learned procureur, all of the political offenders that had been brought before the Kiev court-martial belonged to one or another of three classes, namely: 1. Fanatics; 2. Notoriety-seekers; 3. Common robbers. They were "mere boys" and intellectually immature, although they were older, on an average, than William Pitt was when he became Prime Minister of Great Britain, and older than Napoleon was when the Convention appointed him brigadier-general after the capture of Toulon. They were almost wholly without education, and yet two

<sup>1</sup> I met many political exiles in Siberia who had been prosecuted by Strélnikof and who knew him well. If he were living I should like to give him two or three of my Siberian notebooks and let him read the estimates of his character that were furnished me by the unfortunate men whom he

wanted hanged as enemies of all social order. It would bring a flush of shame to his face, I think, to see how much more fair, accurate, and generous these despised "robbers" and "fanatics" were in judging and describing his character, than he had been in judging and describing theirs.



of them, Madam Kavaléfskaya and Madam Róssikova, had been school-teachers; a third, Florian Bogdanóvich, was a professor of chemistry in a Polish college;<sup>1</sup> Miss Nathalie Armfeldt was the daughter of a Russian general, had been educated in western Europe, and was regarded as an unusually accomplished mathematician and astronomer; Iván M. Koválski and Vladímír Debagóri-Mokriévich were authors,<sup>2</sup> and the former had just written a series of articles entitled "Rationalistic Sects in Russia" for the review *Annals of the Fatherland*; a number of others, whom I afterward met in Siberia, knew two or three languages and had read the works of such authors as Spencer, Mill, Draper, and Lecky; and finally, the "uneducated" prisoner himself was being tried upon the charge of distributing books among the people "in order to promote their welfare by spreading among them the light of scientific knowledge and culture."

According to the procureur Russian political offenders aim to destroy religion; but the prisoner at the bar, when allowed to say a few words in his own defense, quoted more texts from the New Testament than the court, perhaps, had ever before heard, and inculcated virtues, such as "kindness, meekness, and love to one's neighbor," that certainly are not characteristic of Russian officials as a class, and that might well seem to a Russian procureur to be evidences of fanaticism.

In General Strélnikof's opinion political offenders, with the exception of Solivióf and one unnamed Jew, have never shown any personal courage in the commission of crime, and yet, notwithstanding this timidity, they are such formidable criminals, and constitute such a serious menace to

<sup>1</sup> Since his return from penal servitude in Siberia Professor Bogdanóvich has published a volume entitled "Recollections of a Prisoner" ["Wspomnienia Wiezniá," Lwow, 1888], and has also translated into Polish all of my

*Century* articles relating to Siberia and the exile system.

<sup>2</sup> Debagóri-Mokriévich is the author of "Two Years of Life" and "Recollections of a Russian Socialist."

the state, that they must be hanged without mercy even when they confine their criminal activity to distributing books and quoting texts from the New Testament. He admitted that they die on the scaffold with dignified composure; but such self-control he declared to be "a mere matter of temperament." "Common brigands," he said, often die bravely. "Mere boys," therefore, who are "immature" and "uneducated," who have never shown any courage in the commission of crime, and whose highest aim in life is "selfish personal gain," will die on the scaffold like heroes as a matter of course.

Finally, most Russian revolutionists, in the judgment of the Kiev procureur, are nothing but "common robbers." They go about, it is true, distributing gratuitously books that they have bought with their own money, and quoting from the New Testament the words of Jesus Christ; but that is simply because they are "fanatics." It would doubtless be more profitable and less dangerous to rob with a drill, a crowbar and a dark-lantern; but politicals do not pursue that course because they desire to "play a conspicuous part," to "go on pilgrimages" and so forth, and they expect to rob the poor peasants, as they go, of money enough to buy the books that they distribute, and to compensate themselves for the labor of committing to memory a lot of texts from the Bible. If anybody fails to see the strength and coherence of this chain of reasoning he is "politically untrustworthy," if not "prejudicial to public tranquillity"; and the farther he can keep away from the Russian Empire, the better chance he will have of living out the natural term of his existence.

It seems to me foolish and impolitic for Russian Government officials to try to make it appear that the revolutionists, as a class, are despicable in point of intellectual ability, or morally depraved. They are neither the one nor the other. So far as education is concerned they are far superior to any equal number of Russian officials with whom,

in the course of five years' residence in the Russian Empire, I have been brought in contact. In the face of difficulties and discouragements that would crush most men—in financial distress, in terrible anxiety, in prison, in exile, and in the strait-jacket of the press censorship—they not only "keep their grip," but they fairly distinguish themselves in literature, in science, and in every field of activity that is open to them. Much of the best scientific work that has been done in Siberia has been done by political exiles. Mikhaiélis in Semipalátinsk was an accomplished naturalist; Andréief in Minusínsk was a skilled botanist and made an exhaustive study of the flora of central Siberia and the Altái; Kléments in Minusínsk was a geologist and an archæologist of whom his country ought to have been proud; Alexander Kropótkin, who committed suicide in Tomsk, was an astronomer and meteorologist who made and recorded scientific observations for the Russian Meteorological Bureau almost up to the time of his death; Belokónski, in Minusínsk, continued these observations, and was a frequent contributor, moreover, to the best Russian magazines and reviews; Chudnófski, in Tomsk, was engaged for many years in active work for the West-Siberian section of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society, and is the author of a dozen or more books and monographs; Leóntief and Dr. Dolgopólof, in Semipalátinsk, made valuable anthropological researches among the Kírg'his, and the work of the former has recently been published by the Semipalátinsk Statistical Committee under the title "Materials for the Study of the Legal Customs of the Kírg'his"; Lesévich, who was in exile in Yeniséisk, is one of the best-known writers in Russia upon philosophy, morals, and the history and influence of Buddhism; Hoúrwitch, who was in exile in Tiukalínsk, but who is now in New York City, is the author of a monograph on "Emigration to Siberia" which was published in the "Proceedings of the Imperial Geographical Society," and is also the author of the excellent

article upon the treatment of the Jews in Russia which was published in the *Forum* for August, 1891;<sup>1</sup> and, finally, the novels, stories, and sketches of the political exiles Korolénko, Máchtet, Staniukóvich, Mámin [Sibiriák], and Petropávlovski are known to every cultivated Russian from the White Sea to the Caspian and from Poland to the Pacific.

Morally, the Russian revolutionists whom I met in Siberia would compare favorably with any body of men and women of equal numerical strength that I could collect from the circle of my own acquaintances. I do not share the opinions of all of them; some of them seem to me to entertain visionary and over-sanguine hopes and plans for the future of their country; some of them have made terrible and fatal mistakes of judgment; and some of them have proved weak or unworthy in the hour of trial; but it is my deliberate conviction, nevertheless, that, tested by any moral standard of which I have knowledge, such political exiles as Volkhófski, Chudnófski, Blok, Leóntief, Lobonófski, Kropótkin, Kohan-Bérnstein, Belokónski, Prisédski, Lázaref, Charúshin, Kléments, Shishkó, Nathalie Armfeldt, Heléne Máchtet, Sophie Bárdina, Anna Pávlovna Korbá, and many others whom I have not space to name, represent the flower of Russian young manhood and young womanhood. General Strélnikof may call them "fanatics" and "robbers," and Mr. Gálkine Wrásskoy may describe them as "wretched men and women . . . whose social

<sup>1</sup> In a report on the condition and work of the East-Siberian Section of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society for the year 1885, Mr. V. Ptítsin, a member of the Section's revisory committee, refers to the researches and labors of the political exiles as follows:

"It is well known that the best work done, up to this time, in the East-Siberian Section of the Imperial Geographical Society, is the work of exiles—of such men, for example, as the Polish scientist Shchápof [an exiled professor of the Kazán University] and

others. Almost all of the work done and the observations made at the Section's meteorological stations must also be credited to exiles. Why should not the Section gather about itself, for scientific work, all of the educated exiles in the province of Irkútsk and the territories of Yakútsk and the Trans-Baikál? There are among them many people of high cultivation and ardent love for science."

—*Siberian Gazette*, No. 33, p. 1068.  
Tomsk, August 17, 1886.



depravity is so great that it would shock the English people if translated into proper English equivalents,"<sup>1</sup> but among these men and women, nevertheless, are some of the best, bravest, and most generous types of manhood and womanhood that I have ever known. I am linked to them only by the ties of sympathy, humanity, or friendship; but I wish that I were bound to them by the tie of kindred blood. I should be proud of them if they were my brothers and sisters, and so long as any of them live they may count upon me for any service that a brother can render.

The last of the three classes into which I have divided the anti-Government party in Russia comprises the terrorists. A recent writer in the Russian historical magazine *Rússkaya Stariná*, in a very instructive paragraph, describes them, and the attitude of the Russian people towards them, as follows:

We have been present at a strange spectacle. Before our eyes there has taken place something like a duel between the mightiest Power on earth armed with all the attributes of authority on one side, and an insignificant gang of discharged telegraph operators, half-educated seminarists, high-school boys and university students, miserable little Jews and loose women on the other; and in this apparently unequal contest success was far from being on the side of strength. Meanwhile the immense mass of the people who without doubt spontaneously loved the serene [*svétloi*] personality of the Tsar, and were sincerely devoted to law and order, and to the embodiment of law and order in the form of monarchical institutions, stood aside and watched this duel in the capacity of uninterested, if not indifferent, observers. We have called this a "strange spectacle," but it ought, with more justice, to be characterized as a shameful spectacle. It was only necessary for the great mass of the Russian people to move—to "shake its shoulders," as the saying is—and the ulcer that had appeared on the body of the social organism would have vanished as completely as if it never had existed. Why this saving movement was not made we

<sup>1</sup> Interview of the chief of the Russian prison administration with the St. Petersburg correspondent of the London *Times*.

—Chicago *Inter Ocean*, March 16, 1890.

shall not now attempt to ascertain, since the inquiry would carry us too far from the modest task that we have set for ourselves. We merely state the fact, without explanation, and, in the interest of historical truth, refer, in passing, to one extremely distressing phase of it. The repetition, one after another, of terrible crimes, each of which deeply shocked the social organism, inevitably led, by virtue of the natural law of reaction, to exhaustion. There was danger, therefore, that a continuance of persistent activity in this direction would fatally weaken the organism and extinguish all of its self-preservative energies. . . .<sup>1</sup> Ominous forewarnings of such symptoms had begun already to make their appearance. . . .<sup>1</sup>

According to the statements of this writer the terrorists of 1879–81 were nothing but “an insignificant gang of discharged telegraph-operators, half-educated school-boys, miserable little Jews, and loose women”; but this heterogeneous organization, notwithstanding its insignificance, almost succeeded in overthrowing “the mightiest power on earth, armed with all the attributes of authority.” To a simple-minded reader there seems to be an extraordinary disproportion here between cause and effect. So far as I know there is not another instance in history where a gang of telegraph-operators, school-boys, Jews, and loose women have been able to paralyze the energies of a great empire, and almost to overthrow long-established “monarchical institutions” to which a hundred millions of people were “sincerely devoted.” If the statements of Count Lóris-Mélikof’s biographer are to be accepted as true, Russian telegraph-operators, Russian school-boys, Russian Jews, and Russian loose women must be regarded as new and extraordinary types of the well-known classes to which they nominally belong. There are no telegraph-operators and loose women, I believe, outside of Russia, who are capable of engaging in a “duel” with the “mightiest power

<sup>1</sup> There are dots in the original at these points which indicate the omission of matter disapproved by the censor. The extract is from a biographical sketch of Count Lóris-Mélikof, published in the historical magazine *Russian Antiquity* for the month of January, 1889, page 65. [Author’s note.]

on earth" and of "extinguishing all the self-preservative energies" of so tough an "organism" as the Russian bureaucracy. It would be interesting to know how this comba-



SOPHIE NIKÍTINA.

(An administrative exile who died on the road to Eastern Siberia.)

tive—not to say heroic—strain of telegraphers, school-boys and loose women was produced, and why they should have directed their tremendous energies against the "serene personality" that was so universally and so

“spontaneously” beloved, and against the “monarchical institutions” to which all Russians, except telegraphers, school-boys, Jews, and loose women, were so “sincerely devoted.” But it is unnecessary to press the inquiry. Every thoughtful student of human affairs must see the absurdity of the supposition that a few telegraph-operators, school-boys, Jews, and loose women could seriously imperil the existence of a Government like that of Russia.

As a matter of fact the Russian terrorists were men and women of extraordinary ability, courage, and fortitude; of essentially noble nature; and of limitless capacity for heroic self-sacrifice. Professor Lombroso, perhaps the first criminal anthropologist in Europe, who has had an opportunity to study the heads and faces of a number of these people, and to compare them with the heads and faces of communists and anarchists, speaks of them as follows:

It is for me a thoroughly established fact, and one of which I have given the proofs in my “*Delitto Politico*,” that true revolutionists, that is to say, the initiators of great scientific and political revolutions, who excite and bring about a true progress in humanity, are almost always geniuses or saints, and have a marvelously harmonious physiognomy; and to verify this it is sufficient simply to look at the plates in my “*Delitto Politico*.” What noble physiognomies have Paoli, Fabrizi, Dandolo, Moro, Mazzini, Garibaldi, Bandiera, Pisacane, Perófskaya [Sophie Perófskaya, one of the assassins of Alexander II.], and Zasúlich [Véra Zasúlich, who shot General Trepóf, the St. Petersburg chief of police]. . . . In a study that I have made with 321 of our Italian revolutionists [against Austria, etc.] the proportion of the criminal type was 0.57 per cent., *i. e.*, 2 per cent less than in normal men. Out of 30 celebrated nihilists 18 have a very fine physiognomy, 12 present some isolated anomalies, 2 only present the criminal type—that is to say, 6.8 per cent. And if from these unfortunate men, who represent to us, even psychologically, the Christian martyrs, we pass to the regicides, to the presidentialicides, such as Fieschi, Guiteau, Nobiling and the monsters of the French Revolution of 1789, such as Carrier, Jourdan, and Marat, we there at once find in all, or in nearly all, the criminal type. And again the type



frequently appears among the Communards and the Anarchists. Taking 50 photographs of the Communards, I have found the criminal type in 12 per cent. and the insane type in 10 per cent. Out of 41 Parisian anarchists that I have studied with Bertillon at the office of the police in Paris, the proportion of the criminal type was 31 per cent. In the rebellion of the 1st of May last I was able to study one hundred Turin anarchists. I found the criminal type among these in the proportion of 34 per cent., while in 280 ordinary criminals of the prison at Turin the type was 43 per cent. . . . I have been able to study the photographs of 43 Chicago Anarchists, and I have found among them almost the same proportion of the criminal type—that is, 40 per cent.<sup>1</sup>

From the above-quoted statements of Professor Lombroso it appears that the so-called nihilists, even in the cool judgment of exact science, represent, physically and psychologically, rather the early Christian martyrs than the French communists or the Chicago anarchists.

Most of the Russian terrorists were nothing more, at first, than moderate liberals, or, at worst, peaceful socialistic propagandists; and they were gradually transformed into revolutionists, and then into terrorists, by injustice, cruelty, illegality, and contemptuous disregard, by the Government, of all their rights and feelings. I have not a word to say in defense of their crimes. I do not believe in such methods of warfare as assassination, the wrecking of railway trains on which one's enemies are riding, the robbing of Government sub-treasuries, and the blowing up of palaces; but I can fully understand, nevertheless, how an essentially good and noble-natured man may become a terrorist when, as in Russia, he is subjected to absolutely intolerable outrages and indignities and has no peaceful or legal means of redress. It is true, as the Russian Government contends, that after 1878 the terrorists acted in defiance of all the generally accepted principles of civilized combat; but it must not be forgotten that in life and in war-

<sup>1</sup> "Illustrative Studies in Criminal Anthropology," by Cesare Lombroso.

—*The Monist*, No. 3, Vol. I, p. 336. Chicago, April, 1891.

fare, as in chess, you cannot disregard all the rules of the game yourself and then expect your adversary to observe them. The Government first set the example of lawlessness in Russia by arresting without warrant; by punishing without trial; by cynically disregarding the judgments of its own courts when such judgments were in favor of political; by confiscating the money and property of private citizens whom it merely suspected of sympathy with the revolutionary movement; by sending fourteen-year-old boys and girls to Siberia; by kidnapping the children of "politically untrustworthy" people and exiles and putting them into state asylums; by driving men and women to insanity and suicide in rigorous solitary confinement without giving them a trial; by burying secretly at night the bodies of the people whom it had thus done to death in its dungeons; and by treating as a criminal, *in posse* if not *in esse*, every citizen who dared to ask why or wherefore. A man is not necessarily a ferocious, blood-thirsty fanatic, if, under such provocation, and in the absence of all means of redress, he strikes back with the weapons that lie nearest his hand. It is not my purpose to justify the policy of the terrorists, nor to approve, even by implication, the resort to murder as a means of tempering despotism; but it is my purpose to explain, so far as I can, certain morbid social phenomena; and in making such explanation circumstances seem to lay upon me the duty of saying to the world for the Russian revolutionists and terrorists all that they might fairly say for themselves if the lips of the dead had not already moldered into dust, and if the voices of the living were not lost in the distance or stifled by prison walls. The Russian Government has its own press and its own representatives abroad; it can explain, if it chooses, its methods and measures. The Russian revolutionists, buried alive in remote Siberian solitudes, can only tell their story to an occasional traveler from a freer country, and ask him to lay it before the world for judgment.

## CHAPTER XIV

### EVILS AND PROJECTED REFORMS

I HAVE regarded and discussed the exile system in this work rather from the point of view of the criminal than from the point of view of the non-criminal Siberian resident; but my survey of the subject would be very incomplete if I should wholly fail to notice the evil influence exerted by the Russian system of deportation upon the moral and economic life of the colony to which the criminals are banished. Opposition to the exile system in Russia rests chiefly upon facts that are not known, or at least are not duly taken into account, by writers on the subject in other countries. With us Siberian exile is condemned because it is thought to be a cruel and unusual punishment. In Russia it is opposed because it has a demoralizing effect upon the Siberian population. In the one case it is regarded from the point of view of the criminal, and in the other from the point of view of society. As the inhabitants of Siberia, and especially of the West-Siberian provinces, become more and more wealthy, prosperous, and civilized, they object more and more strenuously to the colonization of criminals in their towns and villages. "We admit," they say, "that it is essential for the protection of society in European Russia that the criminal should be removed from there, and very desirable that, if possible, he should be reformed; but we do not want him removed to our villages and reformed entirely at our expense. What have we done that we should have eight or ten thousand thieves, forgers, drunkards, counterfeiters, and vagrants turned loose at our very thresholds every year?" Then

the eastern provinces of European Russia, such as Perm, Orenburg, and Kazán, join in the protest, on the ground that their towns and villages are overrun by criminals who have made their escape from Siberia, and that the aggregate of crime within their limits is, in consequence, enormously increased. They say to the Government, "You collect criminals from all parts of Russia proper, transport them across the Siberian boundary-line, and then turn them loose only a few hundred miles from our eastern frontier. A large proportion of them make their escape, and, straggling back in a destitute condition, they quarter themselves upon us. We are as much entitled to protection as the central, southern, and western provinces, from which these criminals were originally taken. If you insist upon sending thieves and burglars to Siberia, instead of shutting them up in penitentiaries, we beg you to send them far enough to the eastward so that they cannot straggle back across the frontier to prey upon us."

The number of criminals now sent to Siberia annually, not including innocent wives and children, varies from 10,000 to 13,000. These criminals may be divided, for my present purpose, into five great classes, viz: first, hard-labor convicts; secondly, compulsory colonists; thirdly, communal exiles [persons banished on account of their generally bad character by the village communes to which they belong]; fourthly, vagrants; and, fifthly, political and religious exiles. The proportion which each of these classes bears to the whole may be shown in tabular form as follows, the figures being taken from the report of the Tiúmén *Prikáz o Silnikh* for the year 1885.

<i>Criminal class.</i>	<i>Number.</i>	<i>Per cent. of whole number.</i>
Hard-labor convicts . . . . .	1551	15.16
Forced colonists . . . . .	2841	27.28
Communal exiles . . . . .	3751	36.66
Vagrants [ <i>brodyágs</i> ] . . . . .	1719	16.80
Political and religious exiles . . . . .	368	3.60
Total . . . . .	10,230	100.00



When this great body of offenders reaches Siberia it is divided into two penal classes, viz: first, criminals who are shut up in prisons; and, secondly, criminals who are assigned places of residence, and are there liberated to find subsistence for themselves as best they may. The first of these penal classes—that of the imprisoned—comprises all the hard-labor convicts and all of the vagrants, and numbers in the aggregate 3270. The second or liberated class includes all of the forced colonists, all of the communal exiles, and most of the political and religious offenders, and numbers in the aggregate nearly seven thousand.

It is manifest, I think, that when a flood of ten thousand vagrants, thieves, counterfeitters, burglars, highway robbers, and murderers is poured into a colony, the class most injurious to the welfare of that colony is the liberated class. If a burglar or thief is sent to Siberia and shut up in prison, he is no more dangerous to society there than he would be if he were imprisoned in European Russia. The place of his confinement is immaterial, because he has no opportunity to do evil. If, however, he is sent to Siberia and there turned loose, he resumes his criminal activity and becomes at once a menace to social order and security.

For more than half a century the people of Siberia have been groaning under the heavy burden of common criminal exile. More than two-thirds of all the crimes committed in the colony are committed by common felons who have been transported thither and then set at liberty; and the peasants, everywhere, are becoming demoralized by enforced association with thieves, burglars, counterfeitters, and embezzlers from the cities of European Russia. The honest and prosperous inhabitants of the country protest, of course, against the injustice of a system that liberates every year, at their very doors, an army of from seven to ten thousand worthless characters and felons. They do not object to the hard-labor convicts, because the latter are shut up in prisons. They do not object to the political and religious exiles,

because such offenders make the best of citizens. Their protests are aimed particularly at the communal exiles and the forced colonists. Nearly all of the large towns in Western Siberia have sent memorials to the provincial governors, to the Minister of the Interior, or to the Crown, asking to be relieved from the burden of criminal colonization; and in many of these memorials the evils of the exile system have been set forth with fearless candor. The burghers' society of Yalútorfsk, for example, declared that in their town there were twice as many exiles as there were honest citizens, and that the former had almost ruined the latter by means of thefts and robberies.

The burghers' society of Turínsk complained of the constantly increasing quota of exiles quartered upon them, and said that such people would soon outnumber the old residents, and would force the latter to emigrate to some region where criminals were not so plentiful.<sup>1</sup> The unpaid taxes of the exiles, moreover, rested as an additional burden upon society, and especially upon its less prosperous members, while the exiles themselves, having no means of earning an honest livelihood, either gave themselves up to indolence, drunkenness, and debauchery, or were guilty of robbery and other crimes which the police were almost powerless to prevent or investigate.

The town council of Tára, in its memorial, said: "The exiles sent to Siberia from the interior provinces of Russia, either on account of their crimes or because of their bad conduct in the communes to which they belonged, have brought hither habits of laziness, drunkenness, roguery, debauchery, and violence, and sometimes even of robbery and murder; and as they are adroit and experienced criminals, they are seldom convicted in the courts. Besides all this, their evil example tempts into crime the poorer class

<sup>1</sup> The prediction has been fulfilled. In 1885 the old residents began to leave the *okrugs* of Yalútorfsk, Ishím, Kurgán, and Turínsk, in order to escape from the forced colonists. See *Siberian Gazette*, No. 13, p. 325. Tomsk, March 31, 1885.

of old-resident burghers, and especially the young, some of whom already have taken the criminal infection."

The Ishím town council expressed itself with regard to the subject as follows: "The greater part of the exiles have not even means to pay for an identification-paper, and they roam about the town and the district, begging, thieving, robbing, and trying to excite sympathy or inspire terror by calling themselves *brodyágs*. The wickedness of these exile inhabitants of Ishím is so notorious that it has passed into a proverb; and travelers, while they are yet hundreds of *versts* away, are warned to be particularly cautious and watchful while passing through our town."

The burghers' society of Kurgán protested vigorously against a continuance of the practice of colonizing criminals in their town, and declared that the exiles were, in every sense of the words, "a homeless and houseless proletariat and a scourge to the community." They not only were lazy, tricky, depraved, and dissipated, but they were everywhere the corruptors of the young and the sowers of the seeds of crime in the families of the old residents.<sup>1</sup>

The statements of the West-Siberian town councils and burghers' societies need no other confirmation than the statistics of vagrancy and crime in the books of the Siberian police-stations, the records of the local exile bureaus, and the columns of the Siberian newspapers. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that Siberia literally swarms with *brodyágs*, escaped exiles, and runaway convicts of the worst class. Thousands of forced colonists leave the places where they are enrolled on the very next day after their arrival.

<sup>1</sup> "Siberia as a Colony," by N. M. Yádrintsef, p. 217. See also the Memorandum Book of the Province of Tobólsk for the year 1884, published by authority of the provincial statistical committee. The official compilers of that volume publish the above-quoted statements, and declare, emphatically, that "there is not the slightest reason to doubt their perfect justice and accuracy. The only wonder is," they continue, "that the members of these town councils had the civic manliness to express themselves thus boldly and justly without fear of reprisals." [Memorandum Book of the Province of Tobólsk, p. 225.]

Between the years 1871 and 1876 the police arrested 3147 runaway convicts in the province of Tobólsk, and more than 5000 in the province of Tomsk; while three times as many more, probably, crossed those provinces unmolested.<sup>1</sup> According to statistics published by the Russian exile administration, the number of forced colonists enrolled in the provinces of Irkútsk and Yeniséisk and the territory of the Trans-Baikál in 1886 was 110,000, and of that number 48,000, or 42 per cent., had run away and could not be found. In Western Siberia the number of runaways was still greater. A census of the exiles in the towns and villages of the two West-Siberian provinces of Tobólsk and Tomsk showed that only 33 per cent. of them were in the places where they had been colonized, and that 67 per cent. of them had disappeared.<sup>2</sup> Thousands of these runaways perished, doubtless, of hunger and cold, or were shot by the exasperated peasants whom they had robbed; but thousands more roamed about the country as *brodyágs*, begging, stealing, attacking freight caravans, and committing murders, in order to sustain their wretched lives.<sup>3</sup> The number of crimes committed by common-criminal exiles between 1872 and 1876 in the province of Tobólsk was 5036, and in the province of Tomsk 4856.<sup>4</sup> In certain parts of the province of Tobólsk, as for instance in the district of Tiukalínsk, the number of judicial condemnations for crime, in every thousand of the population, is

<sup>1</sup> *Eastern Review*, No. 35, p. 2. St. Petersburg, Sept. 3, 1887.

<sup>2</sup> *Siberian Gazette*, No. 48, p. 3. Tomsk, June 26, 1886.

<sup>3</sup> Freight caravans were attacked constantly by armed bands of highwaymen on the great Siberian road between Tomsk and Áchinsk in 1886, and several of the worst stretches were finally patrolled by a force of mounted police. Even the city of Tomsk itself was terrorized in February, 1886, while we were there, by a band of

criminals who made a practice of riding through the city in sleighs at night and catching belated wayfarers with sharp grappling-hooks. See *Eastern Review*, No. 9, p. 5; Feb. 27, 1886, No. 40, pp. 1, 2; Oct. 2, 1886, and No. 48, p. 2; Nov. 27, 1886. See also *Siberian Messenger*, No. 23, p. 6; Oct. 17, 1885, and *Siberian Gazette*, No. 38, Sept. 21, 1886, and No. 4, Jan. 1, 1888.

<sup>4</sup> *Eastern Review*, No. 48, p. 3. St. Petersburg, Nov. 27, 1888.



five times greater than the average number in European Russia.<sup>1</sup>

An extraordinarily large proportion of all the crimes committed by common-criminal exiles in Siberia are crimes of violence, and they are not infrequently accompanied by atrocities that are perfectly needless. In the little town of Marínsk, for example, a forced colonist choked a helpless woman to death, killed her three-year-old child by dashing its brains out against the floor, and then, apparently out of sheer bloodthirstiness and deviltry, tore off the head of a chicken, which happened to be the only other living thing in the house. At certain seasons of the year murders, in Siberian towns, are the commonest of occurrences, and you can hardly take up a Siberian newspaper without finding in it a record of one or more. There were four murders, for example, in the little town of Minusínsk on the same night, without an arrest, and from the still smaller town of Marínsk eleven murders were reported to the *Siberian Gazette* in a single letter.<sup>2</sup> Out of 1619 persons tried for crime in the province of Yeniséisk in 1880, 102 were murderers—all of them common-criminal exiles.<sup>3</sup> The small town of Balagánsk, in the province of Irkútsk, has a total population of less than 5000; but there were sixty-one cases of murder there in 1887,—considerably more than one a week,—to say nothing of an immense amount of other crime.<sup>4</sup>

It could hardly be expected that the Siberian peasants would submit quietly to this campaign of robbery and murder on the part of the *varnáks*,<sup>5</sup> and they did not. On

<sup>1</sup> *Eastern Review*, No. 8, p. 6. St. Petersburg, Feb. 26, 1887.

<sup>2</sup> Newspaper *Sibir*, No. 36, p. 5; Irkútsk, Sept. 9, 1884. *Siberian Gazette*, No. 38, p. 1127. Tomsk, Sept. 21, 1886.

<sup>3</sup> *Eastern Review*, No. 17, p. 6. St. Petersburg, July 22, 1882.

<sup>4</sup> *Siberian Gazette*, No. 39, p. 11. Tomsk, May 26, 1888.

<sup>5</sup> The word *varnák* is a slang term

in Siberia for a forced colonist or convict. It is said to have had its origin in the practice of branding highwaymen, in the old times, with the letters "V. R. N. K.," which are the initial letters of the Russian words *Vor*, *razboinik*, *nakazanni knutom*. [Robber, brigand, flogged with the knut.] By adding two "a's" to these letters the word *varnák* was formed.

the contrary, they made the most terrible reprisals. In the district of Verkhólénsk, near Irkútsk, sixty or more dead bodies of runaway convicts are found and buried every year, and most of them have been killed by the peasants.<sup>1</sup> In the spring of 1886 eleven dead bodies were found in the town of Tiimén in the course of a single week, and as nearly all of them were unknown to the police, they were supposed to be the bodies of exiles.<sup>2</sup> In 1884 the Government surgeon of Ishím made 200 post-mortem examinations of bodies of forced colonists that had been murdered by the peasants in his district alone.<sup>3</sup> So exasperated do the old-resident Siberians become at times, as the result of incendiary fires, robberies, and murders attributed by them to the exiles, that they treat the latter with all the barbarous cruelty of Apache Indians. In the Marínsk district, for example,—the same district from which eleven murders were reported in a single letter,—the peasants caught a forced colonist who had stolen their horses and committed other depredations, threw him on the ground, tied his hands behind him, and then filled his eyes with finely broken glass, saying as they did so, “Ah, you *varnák!* You won’t find your way to us again.”

In view of such a state of things as this it is not at all surprising that the town councils of Yalútorfsk, Turínsk, Tára, Ishím, Kurgán, Yeniséisk, and Tomsk, half a dozen burghers’ societies, and almost as many special delegations of Siberian merchants, should have protested, formally and vehemently, against the continuance of criminal colonization. But the Siberian people have not been alone in their protest. Nearly all the governors of the Siberian provinces and territories have called attention repeatedly in their official reports to the disastrous consequences of criminal deportation as now practised; the governor of the Trans-

<sup>1</sup> *Eastern Review*, No. 28, p. 5. St. Petersburg, July 16, 1887.

<sup>2</sup> *Eastern Review*, No. 30, p. 7. St. Petersburg, July 17, 1886.

<sup>3</sup> *Siberian Gazette*, No. 13, p. 325. Tomsk, March 31, 1885.

Baikál has expressly asked that no more forced colonists be sent there, since the territory is full of them already; Vice-admiral Possiót and four Siberian governors-general [Kaznakóf, Anúchin, Ignátief, and Korf] have urged that the exile system be radically modified or abolished;<sup>1</sup> the Siberian newspapers have been hammering away at the subject for almost a quarter of a century; three or four specially appointed commissions have condemned penal colonization and have suggested other methods of dealing with criminals—and yet, nothing whatever has been done. Every plan of reform that has been submitted to the Tsar's ministers and to the Council of the Empire has been found to be "impracticable," "inexpedient," or in some way objectionable, and has finally been put, as the Russians say, "under the tablecloth." The principal reason assigned for the failure of the Government to reform its penal system is lack of money; but it has been conclusively shown by Yádrintsef and by Professor Foinítski that the existing penal system is not only wholly unsatisfactory from every point of view, but is actually more expensive and wasteful than almost any other that can be imagined. Yádrintsef, for example, in computing the expense of the exile system to the Government, estimates that it costs, on an average, 300 *rúbles*, or \$150, merely to transport one criminal from European Russia to Siberia; "a sum," he says, "which would maintain that same criminal for a term of at least four years in the most expensive prison in European Russia. In view of the fact," he continues, "that a large number of serious offenders make their escape and are sent back from

<sup>1</sup>General Kaznakóf, governor-general of Western Siberia from 1884 to 1879, was strongly opposed to the exile system, and not only urged its abolition but made a most comprehensive, detailed, and exhaustive study of its results, in order to have a foundation upon which to base reforms. In a protest that he once made against the

forced colonization in his territory of a large number of fierce and lawless Circassian mountaineers he said, indignantly, to the viceroy of the Caucasus, that anybody could govern a country if he had the privilege of sending out of it all the people that he could n't manage.

two to sixteen times, it is evident that the above estimate of the cost of transporting one criminal to Siberia must be made considerably higher. But this serious item of expense does not, by any means, comprise all that it is necessary to debit to the exile system. The construction and repair of prisons demand enormous current expenditures, notwithstanding the unsatisfactory condition of such buildings; the maintenance of the large number of sick and infirm exiles who can no longer support themselves is a heavy burden upon the local population; and the work of exiled hard-labor convicts, as shown by long experience, does not begin to reimburse the Government for the expenditures that it makes on their account. If to all this be added the facts that the Government is now spending upon the exile system a comparatively insignificant part of the money that would be required to put it into a satisfactory condition; that the number of persons employed to guard and oversee the exiles is far smaller than it ought to be; that such employees receive only a trifling compensation for their services; that the exiles have no schools; that the asylums required by law are not built; and that the force of guards in Siberia is so small that almost everybody escapes from the prisons and the penal settlements who cares to do so—it will be seen that, upon the amount of money now appropriated for its maintenance, the exile system cannot become successful, either as a punitive, a protective, or a reformatory agency.” Nevertheless, this wholly unsatisfactory and inadequate institution, according to the estimates of Lokhvitski, Foinitski, and Yádrintsef, costs the Government of Russia at least five million *rúbles* per annum, and the people of Siberia almost twice as much more. Yádrintsef is of opinion that the 40,000 exile vagrants who are constantly on the march in Siberia cost the peasants not less than 2,960,000 *rúbles* per annum, and that the cost per annum of the whole number of communal exiles and forced colonists that are unable or unwilling to



work, and that live upon the earnings of others, is 7,500,000 *rúbles*, or almost \$4,000,000.<sup>1</sup>

Within the past five years great pressure has been brought to bear upon the Russian Government to induce it so to modify the exile system as to relieve the Siberian people of a part of their heavy burden. Mr. Gálkine Wrásskoy, the chief of the prison administration, has become convinced of the necessity for reform; General Ignátief and Baron Korf, both men of energy and ability, have been appointed governors-general in Eastern Siberia, and have insisted pertinaciously upon the abolition of criminal colonization; the liberal Siberian press, encouraged by the support of these high officials, has assailed the exile system with new boldness and vigor; and the Tsar's ministers have been forced, at last, to consider the expediency, not of abolishing the exile system altogether, but of so modifying it as to render it less burdensome to the inhabitants of a rich and promising colony. In giving the subject such consideration, the Government is not actuated primarily by humane motives—that is, by a desire to lessen the enormous amount of misery that the exile system causes; it merely wishes to put a stop to annoying complaints and protests, and to increase the productiveness and tax-paying capacity of Siberia. In approaching the question from this point of view, the Government sees that the most irritating and burdensome feature of the exile system is the colonization of common criminals in the Siberian towns and villages. It is this against which the Siberian people protest, and it is this which lessens the productive capacity of the colony. Other features of the system are more cruel, more unjust and disgraceful, but this is the one that makes most trouble, and which, therefore, must first have attention.

Just before I left St. Petersburg for the United States I

<sup>1</sup> "Siberia as a Colony," by N. M. nítski. *Journal of Civil and Criminal Law*, No. 2, pp. 94-98, St. Petersburg, 1879.  
 Yádrintsef, pp. 213-216. "The Question of Siberian Exile," by Prof. I. Foi-

had a long and interesting conversation with Mr. Gálkine Wrásskoy with regard to the exile system and a plan of reform that he was then maturing. The view of the question taken by him at that time was precisely the view that I have indicated in the preceding paragraph. He did not expect to bring about the abolition of the exile system as a whole, nor did he intend to recommend such a step to the Tsar's ministers. All that he proposed to do was so to restrict and reform the system as to make it more tolerable to the Siberian people. This he expected to accomplish by somewhat limiting communal exile, by abolishing penal colonization, and by increasing the severity of the punishment for vagrancy. The reform was not intended to change the status of hard-labor convicts, nor of administrative exiles, nor of politicals; and Mr. Gálkine Wrásskoy told me distinctly that, for political convicts, a new prison was then building at the famous and dreaded mine of Akatúi, in the most lonely and desolate part of the Trans-Baikál. Of this fact I was already aware, as I had visited the mine of Akatúi only a short time before, and had seen there the timber prepared for the building. It was the intention of the Government, Mr. Gálkine Wrásskoy said, to pump out the abandoned Akatúi mine, which was then half full of water, and set the politicals at work in it.

At the time of our conversation the chief of the prison administration did not regard the complete abolition of the exile system as even possible, much less practicable. He estimated that it would cost at least ten million *rúbles* to build in European Russia the prisons that the abolition of the exile system would necessitate, and he did not think that, in the straitened condition of the Russian finances, it would be possible to appropriate such an amount for such a purpose. Furthermore, the complete abolition of the system would make it necessary to revise and remodel the whole penal code; and to this step objections would probably be raised by the Minister of Justice. Under such cir-

cumstances all that the prison administration hoped to do was to make such changes in the system as would render it less objectionable to the Siberian people, and less burdensome to the commercial interests of an important colony. After my return to the United States the plan of reform that Mr. Gálkine Wrásskoy had in hand was completed, and an outline of it was published repeatedly in the Russian and Siberian newspapers. Its provisions were, in brief, as follows:

*First.* To substitute imprisonment in European Russia for forced colonization in Siberia, and to retain the latter punishment only "for certain offenses," and "in certain exceptional cases." The meaning of this is, simply, that one class of exiles—namely, *poseléntsi*, or forced colonists—would thenceforth be shut up in European Russia, unless the Government, for reasons best known to itself, should see fit to send them to Siberia as usual. This reform—if the "certain offenses" and "exceptional cases" were not too numerous—would have affected, in the year 1885, 2841 exiles out of a total number of 10,230.

*Second.* To increase the severity of the punishment for vagrancy by sending all vagrants into hard labor on the island of Saghalín. This section was aimed at runaway convicts, thousands of whom spend every winter in prison and every summer in roaming about the colony.

*Third.* To deprive village communes of the right to banish peasants who return to their homes after serving out a term of imprisonment for crime. This would be a limitation of the exile system as it now exists, and in 1885 it would have affected 2651 exiles out of a total of 10,230.

*Fourth.* To retain communal exile, but to compel every commune to support, for a term of two years, the persons

whom it exiles. The amount of money to be paid for the support of such persons is fixed at \$18.25 a year per capita, or five cents a day for every exile. To what extent this would operate in practice as a restriction of communal exile I am unable to say. The *Siberian Gazette* was of opinion that it would affect it very slightly, and attacked the plan vigorously upon the ground of its inadequacy.

*Fifth.* To modify sections 17 and 20 of the penal code so as to bring them into harmony with the changes in the exile system thus provided for.

This is all that there was in the scheme of reform submitted by the prison administration to the Tsar's ministers. It was a step in the right direction, of course, but it came far short of a complete abolition of the exile system, inasmuch as it did not touch the banishment to Siberia of political offenders, nor the transportation of hard-labor convicts to the mines, nor the deportation of religious dissenters; and it restricted communal exile only to a trifling extent. But even this limited and inadequate measure of reform failed to receive the support of his Imperial Majesty's ministers, and was defeated in the Council of the Empire. The Minister of Finance opposed it *in toto*, and said that "the reasons assigned by Mr. Gálkine Wrásskoy for the proposed changes in the exile system are not sufficiently convincing." He made an elaborate argument against it, the substance of which may be found in the *Siberian Gazette* for May 20, 1888, page 4. The Minister of Justice declared that the proposed reform could not be carried out without "the essential destruction of the whole existing system of punishment for crime," and that "the substitution of imprisonment in European Russia for colonization in Siberia is impossible." Furthermore, he went out of his way to say that "exile to Siberia for political and religious offenses must be preserved."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Eastern Review*, p. 11. St. Petersburg, April 22, 1888.



The opposition of these two powerful ministers was fatal to the reform in the Council of the Empire, and in the winter of 1889-90 a new commission was appointed to draw up another "project." When the new project will reach the stage of consideration, and what will be its fate, I have no means of knowing; but my anticipations, so far as a reform of the exile system is concerned, are by no means sanguine. The region that comprises the great mountain-range of the Caucasus has recently been governed by an officer who bears one of the double names that in Russia are so common, viz: Dóndukof-Korsákof. The quick-witted Caucasian mountaineers, who soon discovered that it was virtually impossible to get a desirable thing done by any of the bureaucratic methods of Prince Dóndukof-Korsákof's administration, invented a proverb, based on his name, to express their opinion with regard to the nature of the trouble. It was, simply, "Dóndukof promises and Korsákof hinders." To the proposed reform of the Siberian exile system the witty saying of the Caucasian mountaineers is strictly applicable. The prison administration promises and the Council of the Empire hinders. Then they exchange places, and the Council of the Empire promises while the prison administration hinders. Finally, they both promise and the hindrance comes from an investigating "commission" that has not yet obtained all the money that it hopes to get in the shape of salaries and mileage from the imperial treasury, and that, consequently, has not yet finished its researches in a field that has been examined, surveyed, and investigated ten or fifteen times already.

I hope, with all my heart, that the Siberian exile system may be abolished; but I greatly fear, nevertheless, that it will remain, for many years, one of the darkest blots upon the civilization of the nineteenth century.

## APPENDIXES

## APPENDIX A

A LIST will be found below of the Russian books, periodicals, original documents, and manuscripts that I have read or consulted in the preparation of these volumes. It comprises only Russian literature, and it makes no pretension, of course, to completeness in any of its departments, but it may be useful to non-Russian students, and it will serve, at any rate, to indicate the limitations of my own knowledge. A complete bibliography of the Russian literature relating to Siberia and the Exile System would probably fill a thousand octavo pages of close print. To the books, manuscripts, and periodicals named in this list I have made a classified subject-index of about 10,000 cards.

- ABRÁMOF [Y.]. The Question of Religious Tolerance, by Y. AbrámoF. In magazine *Annals of the Fatherland*, St. Petersburg, Feb., 1882.
- ADRIÁNÓF [A.]. The Northern Foot-hills of the Altái—The Kuznétsk Region, by A. AdriánóF. In *Picturesque Russia*, Vol. XI, p. 273, St. Petersburg, 1884.
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- ÁNENKOVA [PRÁSKÓVIA EGÓROVNA]. Autobiography. In historical magazine *Russian Antiquity*, Jan.-May, 1888. [Madame Ánenkova was the wife of one of the Decembrist exiles, and her autobiography describes minutely the life of the Decembrists in penal servitude.]
- ANON. Last words over the Coffin of Alexander II.: Recollections of a Political Convict. In revolutionary periodical *Messenger of the Will of the People*, No. 3, Geneva, 1884.
- ANON. "The Province of Yeniseisk." St. Petersburg, 1835.
- ANON. Review of the "Rules Relating to Police Surveillance." In magazine *Annals of the Fatherland*, No. 5, May, 1882, and No. 1, Jan., 1883.
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- ANON. Siberia and Penal Servitude. [A review of K. Máxímof's book of that name.] In magazine *Affairs*, No. 3, March 1871.
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- ANON. Count Mikháiel Tariélovich Lóris-Mélikof. In historical magazine *Russian Antiquity*, Jan., 1889.
- ANON. The Siberian Railroad from an Economic and a Strategic Point of View. In magazine *Northern Messenger*, March and April, 1891.
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- ANON. "Remarks concerning the Semiréchinsk Country." Omsk, 1876.
- ANON. "A Short Statistical Review of Western Siberia." Omsk, 1879.
- ANON. Sketches, Anecdotes and Recollections of E—va, a hard-labor convict in the Okhótsk Salt-works. In historical review *Russian Antiquity*, Vol. 22, Nos. 6 and 8, St. Petersburg.
- ANON. Concerning the Exile of Politically Untrustworthy Persons in 1864: An appendix to the memoirs of M. N. MuravióF-Vilenski. In historical review *Russian Antiquity*, May, 1883.

- ANON. "The Ter-Centenary of Siberia: the celebration of the 300th anniversary of the 26th of October, 1581." St. Petersburg, 1882.
- ANON. The Northern Coast of Siberia between the Mouth of the Lena and Bering Strait. In magazine *Nature and Man*, Nos. 11 and 12, St. Petersburg, 1879.
- ANON. Life in an Amúr Station. By an Amúr Farmer. In magazine *Russian Messenger*, Nov., 1863, p. 417.
- ANON. Sketches of Amúr Life. By an Amúr Farmer. In magazine *Russian Messenger*, May, 1866, p. 125.
- ANÚCHIN [E. N.]. An Investigation of the Percentages of Siberian Exiles. By E. N. Anúchin. Memoirs of the Imp. Russ. Geog. Soc. Dept. of Statist., Vol. III, St. Petersburg, 1873.
- ÁSTIREF [N.]. Peculiarities of the Economic State of Siberia, by N. Ástiref. In magazine *Juridical Messenger*, Feb., 1889.
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- DOSTOYÉFSKI [FEDOR]. "Notes from a House of the Dead," by Fedor Dostoyéfski. St. Petersburg, 1862.
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- GÁLKINE WRÁSSKOY [M.]. "Order No. 2926 of March 8th, 1888, to the Governor of the Island of Saghalin" [with regard to the treatment of political convicts], by M. Gálkine Wrásskoy. Manuscript.
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## APPENDIX B

### THE RUSSIAN PRESS CENSORSHIP

THE censorship of the press in Russia may seem, at first thought, to have no direct connection with the Siberian exile system; but a moment's reflection will convince any one, I think, that it has, upon political exiles, a most important bearing; inasmuch as it is precisely this forcible repression of thought, speech, and discussion in Russia that drives so many men—and especially so many young men—into political crime. The whole Russian revolutionary movement is nothing but a violent protest against cruel injustice and gag-law.

Below will be found a list of cases in which Russian periodicals have been punished, or wholly suppressed, for giving voice to ideas and sentiments regarded as objectionable by the ruling class. I have made this list from my own reading of Russian newspapers and magazines, and I am well aware that it probably does not comprise more than a fractional part—perhaps not more than one-tenth—of all the “warnings,” “suspensions,” and “suppressions” that have been dealt out to the Russian press in the course of the last decade. I hope, however, that in spite of its incompleteness and inadequacy it will be of some use as an illustration of the state of affairs that drives so many young and energetic Russians into the ranks of the revolutionists, and that is described by the Moscow liberals, in their address to Lóris-Mélikof, as “extreme dissatisfaction in urgent need of free expression.”

The dates in the subjoined list are generally those of the periodicals in which I found the records of the punishments, and they are all in the Russian or Old Style, which is twelve days later than ours.

1881.

July 7.      The *Odéssa Listók* is suspended for four months.

1882.

Jan. 17.      The *Moscow Telegraph* receives a first warning.

Jan. 19.      The St. Petersburg *Gólos* reappears, after a suspension of six months.

Jan. 22.      The newspaper *Poriádok* is suspended for six weeks.



1882.

- Jan. 31. The *Moscow Telegraph* receives a second warning.
- Feb. 11. The St. Petersburg *Gólos* receives a first warning, with the prohibition of its street sales.
- March 26. The *Moscow Telegraph* is suspended for four months.
- April 8. Application for permission to publish a new newspaper in St. Petersburg is denied.
- April 15. The *Poriádok* gives up the struggle with the censorship and goes into liquidation.
- April 15. The April number of the magazine *Russian Thought* is seized and suppressed.
- May 27. Application for permission to publish a new newspaper in Ekaterínburg is denied.
- June 17. The *Ríga Véstnik* publishes the following in lieu of a leading editorial: "In to-day's issue it was our intention to have had a leading editorial, urging the Esthonians to unite more closely among themselves, and with the Russians, and to work with manly energy for the Fatherland; but we have not been allowed to print it.
- July 1. The humorous illustrated newspaper *Guslá* is seized by order of the censor, and its 24th number is suppressed, for making fun of an irrigation scheme in which the censor is interested.
- July 1. Application for permission to publish a new newspaper, to be called the *Donskói Pchéla*, at Rostóf on the Don is denied.
- July 15. The *Zémstvo*, the organ of the provincial assemblies, gives up the struggle with the censorship and goes into liquidation, after an existence of a year and a half.
- Aug. 19. The *Vostók* receives a first warning for criticism of the higher clergy.
- Aug. 26. The *Bourse Gazette* receives a first warning for an editorial on the rights and duties of the press and its relations with the Government.
- Sept. 2. The September number of the magazine *Russian Thought* is seized, the whole edition of 3000 copies is confiscated, and the plates are destroyed.
- Oct. 31. St. Petersburg *Nóvosti* is fined 100 *rúbles* for charging an officer of the Government with brutality.
- Nov. 2. The November number of the magazine *Russian Thought* is seized and confiscated.
- Dec. 2. The *Moscow Telegraph*, having resumed publication after its suspension, again receives a first warning.
- Dec. 9. The *Vostók* receives a second warning.
- Dec. 9. The street sales of the *Ékko* are forbidden.
- Dec. 16. The St. Petersburg *Gólos* receives a second warning.
- Dec. 16. The street sales of the *Moscow Telegraph* are forbidden.

- 1882.
- Dec. 16. Permission to publish a newspaper in Nérchinsk, Eastern Siberia, is denied.
- Dec. 16. The *Správochní Listók* of Samára is suspended and its office closed.
- Dec. 19. The Moscow *Kuriér* is suspended for three months.
- Dec. 30. An article by Count Leo Tolstói is torn from the May number of the magazine *Russian Thought* by order of the censor and burned.
- 1883.
- Jan. 2. The *Nóvgorod Listók* suspends "as a result of causes over which its editors and publishers have no control."
- Jan. 5. The *Stranú* is suspended for four months because it has manifested "a pernicious tendency and taken a most discouraging view of the state of affairs in the country."
- Jan. 12. The third number of the Moscow *Zritel* is seized and confiscated.
- Jan. 20. The *Moscow Telegraph* receives a second warning.
- Jan. 27. The review *Annals of the Fatherland* receives a second warning "for sympathizing with socialistic doctrines and for dwelling on the dark side of Russian life."
- Feb. 17. The St. Petersburg *Gólos* receives a third warning, and is suspended for six months, on account of its "mischievous tone in discussing the affairs of the Empire and the reforms of the last quarter of a century."
- March 3. The censorship of the *Donskói Gólos* is transferred from Nóvo-Cherkásk to Moscow [a distance of 740 miles], and the publisher notifies subscribers that the next number, and all subsequent numbers, of the paper will be delayed until the proofs can go to Moscow and back—about sixteen days.
- March 24. The *Odéssa Listók* is forbidden to publish any articles whatever relating to the internal affairs of the Empire.
- March 24. The Kharkóf newspaper *Yúzhnî Krái* announces that, as a result of "causes over which the editor has no control, the leading editorial article intended for to-day's number cannot be printed."
- March 24. The *Moscow Telegraph* is finally suppressed on account of its "absolutely pernicious tendency."
- June 9. The magazine *Nabliudátel* receives a first warning for its "manifestly prejudicial tendency."
- June 27. The Moscow *Zritel* receives a first warning for an article upon internal affairs.
- July 14. The *Gazéta Gátsuka* receives a first warning, with the prohibition of street sales, for an attack on the editor of the *Moscow Gazette*, Mr. Katkóf.

1883.

- July 21. Mr. L. A. Polónski, editor and publisher of the suppressed newspaper *Straná*, makes the following announcement. "The editor is forced to announce that, as a result of the embarrassing position in which he is placed by the suspension of the paper in the midst of the receipt of annual subscriptions, there is left to him no means of indemnifying subscribers other than by the offer of a volume of his collected sketches and essays, which is now in course of publication."
- July 28. The *Rüsski Kuriér* receives a first warning, for its "prejudicial tendency as manifested in its criticisms of imperial institutions, and for the false light thrown by it on the conditions of peasant life."
- Aug. 11. The publisher of the *Ékho* is allowed to return from exile in Western Siberia.
- Sept. 1. The proprietor of the suspended newspaper *Gólos* decides to give up the struggle with the censorship and go into liquidation.
- Sept. 8. The St. Petersburg *Nóvosti* receives a first warning for expressing sympathy with the suppressed newspaper *Gólos*.
- Oct. 6. Editors are forbidden to put dots or asterisks in places where the censor has crossed out matter.
- Oct. 13. On the 3d of February the censorship of the *Donskói Gólos* was transferred from Nóvo-Cherkásk—its place of publication—to Moscow. This necessitated sending all proof sheets to the latter city before publication, at a loss of from fifteen to twenty days' time. For a while the editor struggled along as best he could, getting out his paper at irregular intervals as his copy came back from Moscow, and all the time two to three weeks behind the current news of the day. At last, on the 13th of October, he publishes the following cautious announcement: "The editor and proprietor of the *Donskói Gólos*, as a result of certain circumstances, will publish no more numbers of that paper until there is a possibility of getting it out with greater regularity. Of this the subscribers will receive due notice."
- Nov. 30. A journalist named Rántsef is expelled from St. Petersburg for an article upon Poland, written by him and published in the *Nóvosti*.
- Dec. 15. The Minister of the Interior refuses to allow the St. Petersburg *Gólos* to be revived under the editorial management of a former member of its staff.
- Dec. 22. The magazine *Russian Thought* receives a first warning for "pernicious tendency."

- 1884.
- Jan. 15. The street sales of the St. Petersburg *Listók* are forbidden.
- Jan. 15. The street sales of the St. Petersburg *Snyflér* are forbidden.
- Jan. 22. An application for permission to publish a monthly magazine in Tomsk, Western Siberia, is denied.
- Feb. 1. The *Rússki Kuriér* receives a second warning.
- Feb. 1. The Vládikavkáz *Térek* suspends publication voluntarily as the result of an order transferring the censorship of it from its place of publication to Tiflis. The editor announces that he "will suspend until a more favorable time for newspapers."
- Feb. 19. The street sales of the St. Petersburg *Nóvosti* are forbidden.
- March 1. The *Gazéta Gátsuka* receives a first warning for its "unquestionably pernicious tendency." The street sales of the *Sorémennia Izvéstia* are again permitted.
- April 22. The St. Petersburg *Vostók* is warned a third time, and is suspended for four months on account of its "continued and audacious attacks on the higher clergy, and its unpermissible judgments concerning church government."
- April 29. The *Annals of the Fatherland*, the ablest and most important review in the Empire, is permanently suppressed on the ground that its policy is hostile to the Government and to social order.
- May 6. The *Gazéta Gátsuka* receives a second warning for the "prejudiced character" of its editorials and "for presuming to question the justice of the first warning."
- May 20. The street sales of the *Mirskói Tolk* are forbidden.
- May 20. The street sales of the *Sret i Téní* are forbidden.
- May 24. Constantine Staniukóvich, the editor of the St. Petersburg magazine *Diélo*, is exiled to Western Siberia and the magazine suspended.
- June 10. The street sales of the Moscow *Rússkia Vedomosti* are forbidden.
- June 13. The St. Petersburg *Eastern Review* receives a first warning for giving false information with regard to the actions and dispositions of the Siberian authorities.
- July 1. The St. Petersburg *Nediélia* receives a first warning for speaking with approval of the French Revolution, in an editorial article entitled "A Great Anniversary."
- July 8. A correspondent of the Irkútsk newspaper *Sibír* [Eastern Siberia] is arrested by order of an *isprávník*, to whom one of his letters happens to be distasteful, and sent under guard by *étape* to his home one thousand *versts* away.
- July 29. All the numbers of the magazine *Annals of the Fatherland*, for the last twenty years, are excluded from the libraries of all ecclesiastical schools.



1884.

- Aug. 5. The St. Petersburg *Voskhód* receives a first warning "for daring to criticize unfavorably the laws and measures of the Government, falsely interpreting their aim and significance, and inciting hostility between one class of citizens and another."
- Aug. 19. The street sales of the St. Petersburg *Nóvosti* are again permitted.
- Aug. 26. The street sales of the Moscow *Rússkíá Védomosti* are again permitted.
- Sept. 9. An official list is published of three hundred volumes of Russian books withdrawn from all public libraries by order of the censorship.
- Sept. 16. The *Gazéta Gátsuka* receives a third warning and is suspended for one month on account of its "prejudiced tendency."
- Sept. 23. The *Official Messenger* announces the permanent suppression of the *Muzikálni Mir*, the *Remesló*, the Moscow *Gazéta*, the Moscow *Nedélia*, and the Polish newspaper *Przyjaciół Młodzieży*.
- Nov. 11. The street sales of the *Minúta* are forbidden.
- Nov. 18. The Armenian newspaper *Ardagank* is suspended for eight months.

1885.

- Jan. 10. The *Svetóch* is suspended on account of its "unqualifiedly pernicious" tendency.
- Jan. 27. The lower house of the parliament of Finland [the Seim] petitions the Tsar for freedom of the press, but is denied.
- Jan. 31. The street sales of the *Ékho* are forbidden.
- Feb. 18. The dramatic censorship withdraws its objection to the performance of Shakspere's two revolutionary tragedies, "Julius Cæsar" and "Coriolanus," and they are given for the first time in Moscow.
- Feb. 24. The censorship of the Ekaterínoslav newspaper *Dnéiper* is removed to Moscow, and the paper suspends.
- Feb. 24. The *Ékho* is deprived, for a term of eight months, of the right to print advertisements, and gives notice of its suspension.
- Feb. 28. The Moscow magazine *Russian Thought* gives notice that, on account of the prohibition of the censor, Count Tolstoi's "Then What is to be Done?" cannot be published in that periodical.
- March 24. The newspaper *Sibir* hints at an occurrence in a certain monastery, "about which the whole city is talking," but concerning which it cannot print a word "for reasons beyond our control."
- April 7. The *Sovrémmenia Izvéstia* is suspended for one month.

- 1885.
- May 26. The magazine *Nabliudátel* receives a second warning for its "manifestly prejudiced tendency."
- July 4. The Jewish magazine *Voskhód* receives a second warning for "audaciously unfavorable criticism" of certain laws and regulations relating to the Russian Jews.
- Sept. 1. Permission to publish a newspaper in the town of Krasnoyársk, Eastern Siberia, is denied by the Minister of the Interior, without the assignment of any reason.
- Sept. 15. The St. Petersburg medical newspaper *Health* is suppressed absolutely.
- Sept. 15. The Tiflis newspaper *Drosbá* is suppressed absolutely.
- Sept. 22. The *Eastern Review* of St. Petersburg receives a third warning and is suspended for two weeks because it "misrepresents the actions of Siberian officials."
- Sept. 29. The street sales of the St. Petersburg *Nóvosti* are forbidden.
- Oct. 17. A circular letter from the chief bureau of censorship forbids the publication of any news and the expression of any opinion with regard to the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the emancipation of the serfs.
- Oct. 20. The newspaper *Life* is forbidden to print advertisements, and its street sales are forbidden.
- Oct. 27. An unpopular man named Alexander Schmidt is appointed by the Government to fill a chair as professor in the university of Dórpát. The students, unable to express their disapproval and dissatisfaction in any other way, insert the following advertisement in the *Dórpát Gazette*, and the censor approves it without looking up the reference: "2 Timothy iv. 14."<sup>1</sup>
- Nov. 3. The *Siberian Gazette* in Tomsk asks permission to publish twice a week instead of once. Permission denied.
- Nov. 7. The St. Petersburg *Grázhdanín* receives a first warning on account of an editorial entitled, "The Ideas of a Sailor with regard to Naval Qualifications."
- Nov. 10. The Kiev newspaper *Zaryá*, "on account of the departure from town" [exile] "of its official editor, has suspended publication until a new editor shall have been confirmed" [by the Minister of the Interior].
- Nov. 24. One of the correspondents of the Irkútsk newspaper *Sibír* telegraphs the editor that he has been arrested and imprisoned on account of his last letter, and that his life is in danger.
- Nov. 27. The Moscow newspaper *Russ* receives a first warning for "discussing current events in a tone not compatible with true patriotism," and for efforts "to excite disrespect toward the Government."

<sup>1</sup> The verse is as follows: "Alexander the coppersmith did me much evil: The Lord reward him according to his works."

1885.  
Dec. 15. The Moscow merchant Ovchinnikov is punished for printing prayer-books without permission.
1886.  
Feb. 19. The Moscow *Rússkíá Védomosti*, having been forbidden to refer editorially to the emancipation of the serfs on the twenty-fifth anniversary of that event, does not appear on that day at all, and thus commemorates it by voluntary silence.
- April 3. An application for leave to publish a newspaper in the East-Siberian town of Nérchinsk is denied.
- April 3. Street sales of the Moscow *Rússkíá Védomosti* are forbidden.
- April 10. Street sales of the *Sovrénniia Izvéstia* are forbidden.
- April 24. A correspondent of the Irkútsk newspaper *Sibir* is arrested by order of a Siberian *ispravnik*, kept two days in prison without food, flogged, put into leg-fetters, and sent back to his place of residence by *étape* in a temperature of thirty-five degrees below zero (Réaum.). He is not charged with any other crime than furnishing his paper with news.
- May 6. The editor of the St. Petersburg *Police Gazette*, a purely official Government organ, is arrested and imprisoned because, in an article in his paper referring to a "requiem for Alexander II.," there was a typographical error which made it read "a requiem for Alexander III."
- May 25. Suits are begun in the courts against the *Bourse Gazette* and the *Week* for publishing articles reflecting discredit upon Government officials.
- June 7. The Moscow magazine *Russian Thought* is warned that it will be suppressed for "pernicious tendency" if it continues to "present the dark side of Russian life."
- June 10. The censor in Kazán forbids the use of the word *veliki* [great] in connection with the French revolution of 1793.
- June 11. The editor of the *Vólga Messenger* in Kazán is forbidden by the censor to use the word *intelligentsia* [the intelligent class].
- June 12. The *Government Messenger* [the official organ of the Minister of the Interior] prints a list of nineteen periodicals "finally suppressed."
- June 14. Governor Baránov, of Nízhi Nówgorod, asks the chief bureau of censorship to suppress all newspaper correspondence relating to the recent disaster to shipping on the Vólga River, upon the ground that such correspondence would "have a tendency to excite the public mind." [The disaster was the result of the shameless favoritism and mismanagement of the chief of river police in Nízhi Nówgorod, at the time of the breaking up of the ice in the spring.]

1886.

- June 24. The use of Moody and Sankey hymns in Russia is forbidden.  
[I do not know when this prohibition took effect. I have given to it the date of the day when the fact was communicated to me by the agent in St. Petersburg of the British Bible Society.]
- July 10. The censorship of the *Cossack Messenger*, of Nóvo-Cherkásk, is again transferred from the place of its publication to Moscow—distance 740 miles.
- Sept. 4. Mr. Kartamíshef, editor of the *Siberian Messenger* in Tomsk, is sentenced to three weeks' imprisonment.
- Sept. 21. The Irkútsk newspaper *Sibir* is fined 200 *rúbles* for publishing defamatory matter relating to the chief of police of Yakútsk.
- Oct. 18. The Novorossísk *Telegraph* is prosecuted for printing an advertisement without the permission of the police.
- Oct. 22. Street sales of the Moscow *Rússkia Védomosti* are forbidden.
- Nov. 5. Mr. Notóvich, editor of the St. Petersburg *Nórosti*, is sentenced to three months' imprisonment; Mr. Polevói, editor of the *Picturesque Review*, is sentenced to two months' imprisonment; and the editor of the *Petersburg Leaflet* is fined 100 *rúbles* for libel.
- Nov. 27. Permission to publish a newspaper in the Baltic town of Rével is denied.
- Nov. 27. The *Bourse Gazette* receives a second warning on account of its "pernieious tendency."
- 1887.
- Jan. 9. The newspaper *Russian Affairs* is suspended for attacking Germany.
- Jan. 29. The *Gazéta Gátsuka* is suspended and its office closed and sealed by the police. Its offense is said to be the printing of two kinds of papers—one sort for St. Petersburg and one for the provinces—the latter containing articles that the censor would not allow.
- Jan. 29. The newspaper *Russian Workman* and a number of religious tracts are prohibited by the Holy Synod.
- April 23. The retail sale in public places of Count Tolstói's "Powers of Darkness" is forbidden.
- May 7. The Tomsk *Siberian Gazette* is suspended for eight months.
- May 23. Street sales of the *Sorrémmentia Izvéstia* are forbidden.
- June 18. The St. Petersburg *Bourse Gazette* is suspended for one month.
- July 30. The Irkútsk newspaper *Sibir* is finally suppressed.
- July 30. Street sales of the *Rússki Kuriér* are forbidden.
- Oct. 8. Street sales of the *Minúta* and the *Son of the Fatherland* are forbidden.
- Oct. 15. The *Gazéta Gátsuka* is suspended for eight months.



1888.

- Feb. 11. Street sales of the St. Petersburg *Grázhdanín* are forbidden.  
 Feb. 21. The newspaper *Russian Affairs* receives a first warning for  
 "extremely indecent criticisms of the acts of the Gov-  
 ernment."  
 Feb. 25. The *Odéssa Messenger* is suspended for three months.  
 March 17. Street sales of the *Bourse Gazette* are forbidden.  
 April 7. The Sarátov *Leaflet* is suspended for one month.  
 April 17. Street sales of the St. Petersburg *Grázhdanín* are forbidden.  
 May 1. The commission engaged in revising the penal code decides  
 that the unauthorized publication for distribution of any  
 work of science or art shall be punished with one year's  
 imprisonment.  
 May 5. The *Siberian Messenger*, of Tomsk, is suspended for four  
 months.  
 Sept. 25. The Hebrew newspaper *Gatsifer*, of Warsaw, is suspended for  
 four months.  
 Sept. 25. Street sales of the *Bourse Gazette* are forbidden.  
 Nov. 20. The magazine *Diélo* is finally suppressed.

1889.

- July 30. Street sales of the St. Petersburg *Nóvosti* are forbidden.  
 Aug. 1. Mr. Sharápof, editor of the newspaper *Russian Affairs*, is re-  
 moved from his place, by the Minister of the Interior, for  
 going abroad without notifying the chief press administra-  
 tion of his intention to do so.

1890.

- Jan. 1. The magazine *European Messenger* receives a first warning for  
 publishing an article, by Vladímír Solivióf, entitled "The  
 History of Russian Consciousness."  
 April 1. The Nikoláief newspaper *Southerner* is suspended for eight  
 months.  
 April 29. The *Moscow Gazette* receives a first warning for "extremely  
 audacious references to the imperial authorities who are at  
 the head of the government of Finland."  
 June 10. Street sales of the *Bourse Gazette* are forbidden.  
 June 17. Street sales of the St. Petersburg *Grázhdanín* are forbidden.  
 July 29. Street sales of the newspaper *Minúta* are forbidden.  
 Oct. 14. The *Eastern Review* is suspended for four months.

1891.

- Jan. 22. Councilor Smirnóf, of the bureau of censorship, orders thirteen  
 verses of the Koran to be expunged from all copies printed  
 in Russia.  
 Feb. 1. The *Kursk Leaflet* is suspended for one month.  
 Feb. 23. Street sales of the St. Petersburg *Nóvoe Vrémya* are forbidden.

1891.

- Feb. 27. Street sales of the *Son of the Fatherland* are forbidden.
- March 6. Street sales of the St. Petersburg *Grázhdanín* are forbidden.
- March 13. The magazine *Voskhód* receives a third warning and is suspended for six months on account of its "extremely pernicious tendency" as shown in its publication of Mordóftsef's historical novel entitled "Between Hammer and Anvil."
- July 29. A Russian translation of Professor Lester F. Ward's "Social Dynamics" is burned by order of the censor.

The following is a brief classified list of some of the better-known authors and writers who have been hanged, imprisoned, or exiled in Russia, since 1825, for political offenses, or for indulging in too much freedom of thought and expression.

*Historian.* Kostomárof.

*Scientists and Travelers.* Potánin, Madam Yefímenko, Kléments.

*University Professors.* Shehápof, Pávlof, Kostomárof, Éngelhardt.

*Novelists and Dramatists.* Palm, Dostoyéfski, Tourguénef, Mámin, Korolénko, Máchtet, Staniukóvich, Petropávlovski, Beztúzhef.

*Critics.* Písaref, Chúiko, Sáltikof [Shehedrín], Mikháilofski, Protopópof.

*Poets.* Riléief, Odoéfski, Polezháief, Púshkin, Lérmontof, Pleshchéief, Shevehénko, Mikháilof, Kuróehkin, Mináief, Yakubóvich, Volkhófski, Sinigúb.

*Political Economists, Editors, Publicists, and Translators.* Hérzen, Ogaróf, Chernishéfski, Shelgunóf, Shashkóf, Lavróf, Tkáchef, Berví [Flerófski], Pávlenkof, the two Kropótkins, Gregóriief, Protopópof, Krívenko, Góltsef, Madam Pol, Shcherbín, Shehepótief, Priklónski, Yúzhakóf, Vorontsóf, Ánnenski, Aksákof [Ivan], Chudnófski, Ivánchin-Písaref, Yádrintsef.

*Miscellaneous.* Baron Rósen [author of "Memoirs of a Russian Decembrist"], Beláief [author of "Recollections of a Decembrist"], Dall [author of the great "Dictionary of the Living Russian Tongue"], Yákushkin [a student of and writer upon Russian songs and folk-lore], Tveretínof, Khudiákof, Lesévich [writer upon philosophy and morals], Madam Kázina, Olkhan, Bardófski, Értel, Madam Kafíero, Osipóvich.

## APPENDIX C

### REVOLUTIONARY DOCUMENTS

#### I

#### *Program of the Executive Committee of the Russian Revolutionary Party*

By fundamental conviction we are socialists and democrats. We are satisfied that only through socialistic principles can the human race acquire liberty, equality, and fraternity; secure the full and harmonious development of the individual as well as the material prosperity of all; and thus make progress. We are convinced that all social forms must rest upon the sanction of the people themselves, and that popular development is permanent only when it proceeds freely and independently, and when every idea that is to be embodied in the people's life has first passed through the people's consciousness and has been acted upon by the people's will. The welfare of the people and the will of the people are our two most sacred and most inseparable principles.

#### A

1. If we look at the environment in which the Russian people are forced to live and act, we see that they are, economically and politically, in a state of absolute slavery. As laborers they work only to feed and support the parasitic classes; and as citizens they are deprived of all rights. Not only does the actual state of things fail to answer to their will, but they dare not even express and formulate their will; they cannot even think what is good and what is bad for them; the very thought that they can have a will is regarded as a crime against the State. Enmeshed on all sides, they are being reduced to a state of physical degeneration, intellectual stolidity, and general inferiority.

2. Around the enchained people we see a class of exploiters whom the state creates and protects. The state itself is the greatest capitalistic power in the land, it constitutes the sole political oppressor of the people, and only through its aid and support can the lesser robbers exist. This bourgeois exerecence in the form of a government sustains itself by mere brute force—by means of its military, police, and bureaucratic organization—in precisely the same way that the Mongols of Genghis Khan sustained themselves in Russia. It is not sanctioned by the people, it rules by arbitrary violence, and it adopts and enforces governmental and economical forms and principles that have nothing whatever in common with the people's wishes and ideals.

3. In the nation we can see, crushed but still living, its old traditional principles, such as the right of the people to the land, communal and local self-government, freedom of speech and of conscience, and the rudiments of federal organization. These principles would develop broadly, and would give an entirely different and a more popular direction to our whole history, if the nation could live and organize itself in accordance with its own wishes and its own tendencies.

#### B

1. We are of opinion, therefore, that it is our first duty, as socialists and democrats, to free the people from the oppression of the present Government, and bring about a political revolution, in order to transfer the supreme power to the nation. By means of this revolution we shall afford the people an opportunity to develop, henceforth, independently, and shall cause to be recognized and supported, in Russian life, many purely socialistic principles that are common to us and to the Russian people.

2. We think that the will of the people would be sufficiently well expressed and executed by a national Organizing Assembly, elected freely by a general vote, and acting under the instructions of the voters. This, of course, would fall far short of an ideal manifestation of the people's will; but it is the only one that is practicable at present, and we therefore think best to adopt it. Our plan is to take away the power from the existing Government, and give it to an Organizing Assembly, elected in the manner



above described, whose duty it will be to make an examination of all our social and governmental institutions, and remodel them in accordance with instructions from the electors.

## C

Although we are ready to submit wholly to the popular will, we regard it as none the less our duty, as a party, to appear before the people with our program. This program we shall use as a means of propaganda until the revolution comes, we shall advocate it during the election campaign, and we shall support it before the Organizing Assembly. It is as follows:

1. Perpetual popular representation, constituted as above described and having full power to act in all national questions.

2. General local self-government, secured by the election of all officers, and the economic independence of the people.

3. The self-controlled village commune as the economic and administrative unit.

4. Ownership of the land by the people.

5. A system of measures having for their object the turning over to the laborers of all mining works and factories.

6. Complete freedom of conscience, speech, association, public meeting, and electioneering activity.

7. Universal right of franchise, without any class or property limitation.

8. The substitution of a territorial militia for the army.

We shall follow this program, and we believe that all of its parts are so interdependent as to be impracticable one without the other, and that only as a whole will the program insure political and economic freedom and the harmonious development of the people.

## D

In view of the stated aim of the party its operations may be classified as follows:

1. *Propaganda and agitation.* Our propaganda has for its object the popularization, in all social classes, of the idea of a political and democratic revolution as a means of social reform, as well as

popularization of the party's own program. Its essential features are criticism of the existing order of things, and a statement and explanation of revolutionary methods. The aim of agitation should be to incite the people to protest, as generally as possible, against the present state of affairs, to demand such reforms as are in harmony with the party's purposes, and, especially, to demand the summoning of an Organizing Assembly. The popular protest may take the form of meetings, demonstrations, petitions, leading addresses, refusals to pay taxes, etc.

2. *Destructive and terroristic activity.* Terroristic activity consists in the destruction of the most harmful persons in the Government, the protection of the party from spies, and the punishment of official lawlessness and violence in all the more prominent and important cases in which such lawlessness and violence are manifested. The aim of such activity is to break down the prestige of Governmental power, to furnish continuous proof of the possibility of carrying on a contest with the Government, to raise in that way the revolutionary spirit of the people and inspire belief in the practicability of revolution, and, finally, to form a body suited and accustomed to warfare.

3. *The organization of secret societies and the arrangement of them in connected groups around a single center.* The organization of small secret societies with all sorts of revolutionary aims is indispensable, both as a means of executing the numerous functions of the party and of finishing the political training of its members. In order, however, that the work may be carried on harmoniously, it is necessary that these small bodies should be grouped about one common center, upon the principle either of complete identification or of federal union.

4. *The acquirement of ties, and an influential position in the administration, in the army, in society, and among the people.* The administration and the army are particularly important in connection with a revolution, and serious attention should also be devoted to the people. The principal object of the party, so far as the people are concerned, is to prepare them to coöperate with the revolution, and to carry on a successful electioneering contest after the revolution—a contest that shall have for its object the election of purely democratic delegates to the Organizing Assembly. The party should enlist acknowledged partizans among the more prominent classes of the peasantry, and should prearrange for the active

coöperation of the masses at the more important points and among the more sympathetic portions of the population. In view of this, every member of the party who is in contact with the people must strive to take a position that will enable him to defend the interests of the peasants, give them aid when they need it, and acquire celebrity among them as an honest man and a man who wishes them well. In this way he must keep up the reputation of the party and support its ideas and aims.

5. *The organization and consummation of the revolution.* In view of the oppressed and cowed condition of the people, and of the fact that the Government, by means of partial concessions and pacifications, may retard for a long time a general revolutionary movement, the party should take the initiative, and not wait until the people are able to do the work without its aid.

6. *The electioneering canvass before the summoning of the Organizing Assembly.* However the revolution may be brought about—as the result of an open revolution, or with the aid of a conspiracy—the duty of the party will be to aid in the immediate summoning of an Organizing Assembly, to which shall be transferred the powers of the Provisional Government created by the revolution or the conspiracy. During the election canvass the party should oppose, in every way, the candidacy of *kuláks*<sup>1</sup> of all sorts, and strive to promote the candidacy of purely communal people.<sup>2</sup>

Letter sent by the Revolutionary Executive Committee to Alexander III., after the assassination of Alexander II.

MARCH 10, 1881.<sup>3</sup>

YOUR MAJESTY: Although the Executive Committee understands fully the grievous oppression that you must experience at this moment, it believes that it has no right to yield to the feeling of natural delicacy which would perhaps dictate the postponement of the following explanation to another time. There is something higher than the most legitimate human feeling, and that is duty to one's country—the duty for which a citizen must sacrifice himself and his own feelings, and even the

<sup>1</sup> *Kulák* means literally a clenched fist, and is a term applied by the peasants to petty capitalists, such as money-lenders, usurers, middle-men, etc., who "squeeze" them in their times of distress.

<sup>2</sup> That is to say, people from the *mirs*, or village communes.

<sup>3</sup> Alexander II. was assassinated March 1st (Old Style) and this letter was sent to Alexander III. nine days later, when some members of the Executive Committee were still at liberty.

feelings of others. In obedience to this all-powerful duty we have decided to address you at once, waiting for nothing, as will wait for nothing the historical process that threatens us with rivers of blood and the most terrible convulsions.

The tragedy enacted on the Ekaterínski canal<sup>1</sup> was not a mere casualty, nor was it unexpected. After all that had happened in the course of the previous decade it was absolutely inevitable; and in that fact consists its deep significance for a man who has been placed by fate at the head of governmental authority. Such occurrences can be explained as the results of individual malignity, or even of the evil disposition of "gangs,"<sup>2</sup> only by one who is wholly incapable of analyzing the life of a nation. For ten whole years—notwithstanding the strictest prosecution; notwithstanding the sacrifice by the late Emperor's Government of liberty, the interests of all classes, the interests of industry and commerce, and even its own dignity; notwithstanding the absolute sacrifice of everything in the attempt to suppress the revolutionary movement—that movement has obstinately extended, attracting to itself the best elements of the country,—the most energetic and self-sacrificing people of Russia,—and the revolutionists have carried on, for three years, a desperate partizan warfare with the administration.

You are aware, your Majesty, that the Government of the late Emperor could not be accused of a lack of energy. It hanged the innocent and the guilty, and filled prisons and remote provinces with exiles. Tens of so-called "leaders" were captured and hanged, and died with the courage and tranquillity of martyrs; but the movement did not cease—on the contrary it grew and strengthened. The revolutionary movement, your Majesty, is not dependent upon any particular individuals; it is a process of the social organism; and the scaffolds raised for its more energetic exponents are as powerless to save the out-grown order of things as the cross that was erected for the Redeemer was powerless to save the ancient world from the triumph of Christianity. The Government, of course, may yet capture and hang an immense number of separate individuals, it may break up a great number of separate revolutionary groups, it may even destroy the most important of existing revolutionary organizations; but all this will not change, in the slightest degree, the condition of affairs. Revolutionists are the creation of circumstances; of the general discontent of the people; of the striving of Russia after a new social framework. It is impossible to exterminate the whole people; it is impossible, by means of repression, to stifle its discontent. Discontent only grows the more when it is repressed. For these reasons the places of slain revolutionists are constantly taken by new individuals, who come

<sup>1</sup> The place where Alexander II. was assassinated.

<sup>2</sup> The Russian word is *shdiki*, meaning bands, or gangs of brigands, robbers or murderers. [Author's note.]



forth from among the people in ever-increasing numbers, and who are still more embittered, still more energetic. These persons, in order to carry on the conflict, form an association, in the light of the experience of their predecessors, and the revolutionary organization thus grows stronger, numerically and in quality, with the lapse of time. This we actually see from the history of the last ten years. Of what use was it to destroy the Dolgúshintsi, the Chaikóftsi, and the workers of 1874?<sup>1</sup> Their places were taken by much more resolute democrats. Then the awful repressive measures of the Government called upon the stage the terrorists of 1878-9. In vain the Government put to death the Koválskis, the Dubróvins, the Ossínskis, and the Lisogúbs. In vain it destroyed tens of revolutionary circles. From among those incomplete organizations, by virtue of natural selection, arose only stronger forms, until, at last, there has appeared an Executive Committee with which the Government has not yet been able successfully to deal.

A dispassionate glance at the grievous decade through which we have just passed will enable us to forecast accurately the future progress of the revolutionary movement, provided the policy of the Government does not change. The movement will continue to grow and extend; deeds of a terroristic nature will increase in frequency and intensity, and the revolutionary organization will constantly set forth, in the places of destroyed groups, stronger and more perfect forms. Meanwhile the number of the discontented in the country will grow larger and larger; confidence in the Government, on the part of the people, will decline; and the idea of revolution—of its possibility and inevitability—will establish itself in Russia more and more firmly. A terrible explosion, a bloody hurly-burly, a revolutionary earthquake throughout Russia will complete the destruction of the old order of things. Upon what depends this terrible prospect? Yes, your Majesty, “terrible” and lamentable! Do not take this for a mere phrase. We understand, better than any one else can, how lamentable is the waste of so much talent and energy, the loss, in bloody skirmishes and in the work of destruction, of so much strength that, under other conditions, might have been expended in creative labor and in the development of the intelligence, the welfare, and the civil life of the Russian people. Whence proceeds this lamentable necessity for bloody conflict? It arises, your Majesty, from the lack in Russia of a real government in the true sense of that word. A government, in the very nature of things, should only give outward form to the aspirations of the people and effect to the people’s will. But with us—excuse the expression—the Government has degenerated into a mere camarilla, and deserves the name of a usurping “gang” much more than does the Executive Committee.

<sup>1</sup> Two famous groups of so-called “propagandists” who virtually began the modern revolutionary struggle. [Author’s note.]

Whatever may be the *intentions* of the Tsar, the *actions* of the Government have nothing in common with the popular welfare, or popular aspirations. The Imperial Government subjected the people to serfdom, put the masses into the power of the nobility, and is now openly creating the most injurious class of speculators and jobbers. All of its reforms result merely in a more perfect enslavement and a more complete exploitation of the people. It has brought Russia to such a pass that, at the present time, the masses of the people are in a state of pauperism and ruin; are subjected to the most humiliating surveillance, even at their own domestic hearths; and are powerless even to regulate their own communal and social affairs. The protection of the law and of the Government is enjoyed only by the extortionist and the exploiter, and the most exasperating robbery goes unpunished. But, on the other hand, what a terrible fate awaits the man who sincerely considers the general good! You know very well, your Majesty, that it is not only socialists who are exiled and prosecuted. Can it be possible that the *Government* is the guardian of such "order"? Is it not rather probable that this is the work of a "gang" — the evidence of a complete usurpation?

These are the reasons why the Russian Government exerts no moral influence, and has no support among the people. These are the reasons why Russia brings forth so many revolutionists. These are the reasons why even such a deed as Tsaricide excites in the minds of a majority of the people only gladness and sympathy. Yes, your Majesty! Do not be deceived by the reports of flatterers and sycophants — Tsaricide, in Russia, is popular.

From such a state of affairs there can be only two exits: either a revolution, absolutely inevitable and not to be averted by any punishments, or a voluntary turning of the Supreme Power to the people. In the interest of our native land, in the hope of preventing the useless waste of energy, in the hope of averting the terrible miseries that always accompany revolution, the Executive Committee approaches your Majesty with the advice to take the second course. Be assured, so soon as the Supreme Power ceases to rule arbitrarily, so soon as it firmly resolves to accede to the demands of the people's conscience and consciousness, you may, without fear, discharge the spies that disgrace the administration, send your guards back to their barracks, and burn the scaffolds that are demoralizing the people. The Executive Committee will voluntarily terminate its own existence, and the organizations formed about it will disperse, in order that their members may devote themselves to the work of culture among the people of their native land.

We address your Majesty as those who have discarded all prejudices, and who have suppressed the distrust created by the actions of the Government throughout a century. We forget that you are the representative of the authority that has so often deceived and that has so injured

the people. We address you as a citizen and as an honest man. We hope that the feeling of personal exasperation will not extinguish in your mind your consciousness of your duties and your desire to know the truth. *We* also might feel exasperation. You have lost your father. We have lost not only our fathers, but our brothers, our wives, our children and our dearest friends. But we are ready to suppress personal feeling if it be demanded by the welfare of Russia. We expect the same from you.

We set no conditions for you — do not let our proposition irritate you. The conditions that are prerequisite to a change from revolutionary activity to peaceful labor are created, not by us, but by history. These conditions, in our opinion, are two.

1. A general amnesty to cover all past political crimes; for the reason that they were not crimes but fulfilments of civil duty.

2. The summoning of representatives of the whole Russian people to examine the existing framework of social and governmental life, and to remodel it in accordance with the people's wishes.

We regard it as necessary, however, to remind you that the legalization of the Supreme Power, by the representatives of the people, can be valid only in case the elections are perfectly free. For this reason such elections must be held under the following conditions.

1. Delegates are to be sent from all classes, without distinction, and in number are to be proportionate to the number of inhabitants.

2. There shall be no limitations, either for voters or delegates.

3. The canvass and the elections shall be absolutely unrestricted, and therefore the Government, pending the organization of the National Assembly, shall authorize, in the form of temporary measures,

- a.* Complete freedom of the press.
- b.* Complete freedom of speech.
- c.* Complete freedom of public meeting.
- d.* Complete freedom of election program.

This is the only way in which Russia can return to the path of normal and peaceful development.

We declare solemnly, before the people of our native land and before the whole world, that our party will submit unconditionally to the decisions of a National Assembly elected in the manner above indicated, and that we will not allow ourselves, in future, to offer violent resistance to any Government that the National Assembly may sanction.

And now, your Majesty, decide! Before you are two courses, and you are to make your choice between them. We can only trust that your intelligence and conscience may suggest to you the only decision that is compatible with the welfare of Russia, with your own dignity, and with your duty to your native land.

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

## THE WORD NIHILIST.

If the reader has read attentively the foregoing documents, he must see, I think, how inappropriate the word nihilist is when applied to the Russian revolutionists, or even to the terrorists. If the authors of these documents are not nihilists, then there are no nihilists in Russia; and the wild-eyed iconoclast whose philosophy is "the flat negation of all faith and hope, whether in the social, political, or spiritual order," and who is "called nihilist because he will accept nothing and only sees happiness in the destruction of everything existing," is a purely imaginary being. Outside of certain books, he has no more reality than the conventional devil with horns, tail, and a three-tined pitchfork.

An intelligent Russian, who occupied a prominent position in the revolutionary party, and who, at one time, was a member, I think, of the Executive Committee, refers to the misuse in Europe of the word nihilist as follows:

The militant section of the *intelligentsia* [the educated or intelligent class], that which I call the revolutionary, has, in Europe, received the strange name of nihilist. The title proves that the most erroneous notions on the subject of Russian revolutionists are current outside Russia. If, in fact, Europe understood the Russian revolutionary movement, and that which is going on among the *intelligentsia*, this word would certainly not have been used any more than it is in Russia. The name, indeed, is only used among us in a bad sense, and only by persons capable of saying, "The anarchist party has at last attained to power in England—Mr. Labouchere is Prime Minister." In Russia there are journals capable of writing such a phrase, but if, relying on a telegram of this description, I were to call Mr. Labouchere an anarchist, it would prove only one thing—that I was totally ignorant as to who Mr. Labouchere is, and of what anarchism consists. The name of nihilist arose in Russia under those merely passing and fortuitous circumstances which accompanied the initial movement of the intelligent class at the beginning of the reign of Alexander II. Russia had just escaped from the yoke of the reign of Nicholas, and was preparing to throw off that of serfdom. Ideas, having burst their chains, began to work feverishly. All Russia cursed the past and leaned out toward the future. . . . All men began reasoning, criticizing, denying, inquiring. . . . The tendency toward democratic ideas manifested itself occasionally by the most exaggerated aversion to everything that was aristocratic, to everything that smacked of the nobility, and consequently to all the formal-



ties of superficial civilization. Uncleanly faces, disheveled hair, and fantastic clothes were to be seen. In conversation, to give proof of a wilful coarseness, the language of peasants was used. Contempt for the hypocritical and conventional formal morality, contempt for the ridiculous traditions which had so long been considered the expression of the wisdom of the state, indignation at the oppression borne by the individual were expressed by an absolute negation of authority of all kinds, and in the most exaggerated tendency toward liberty. All this certainly lent itself to caricature, all this allowed prejudiced persons to formulate against the intelligent class the accusation of wanting to destroy everything, of admitting the sacredness of nothing, of being without heart, without morality, and so forth. Even in the intelligent class, a few, from a spirit of contradiction, and by way of provoking the reactionists, began to adopt this name. Thus, in Nekrásow,<sup>1</sup> a son answering his father's reproaches says, "Nihilist — 't is a foolish word. But if by it you understand a frank man, who does not care to live on the possessions of others, who works, who seeks after the truth, tries that his life may not be useless, who bites his thumb at every rogue and occasionally knocks one down, then I don't see any harm; call me nihilist, why not?"

Nevertheless, only a small number among well-known persons, like Dmítri Písaref, for example, accepted this nickname; and even then only, so to say, for the moment. The absurdity of the word nihilism was too apparent. Besides, the very facts which had called forth the nickname naturally disappeared very rapidly. The leaning toward outward manifestations gave way to positive work with redoubled energy, and soon all these childish things — the women cutting their hair short, or exaggerated rudeness of manner — became discredited. Thus the word nihilism, which in earlier times had some meaning, at least as a caricature, a few years later lost all definite significance. In Russia no serious writer, even though he were reactionary, would use it to designate the revolutionists. The word has passed forever into the domain of pamphlets and of insults. In Europe, on the contrary, the word nihilism has the greatest vogue. The strangest thing is, this caricature is believed in as something real. Nihilism is considered a special doctrine founded on personal negation of all positive ideals. This is repeated again and again, even in other works than those of Cheddo-Ferotti. And this is not remarkable. But it is to be regretted that we do not find much more accuracy in a writer so conscientious and so erudite as M. Leroy-Beaulieu, . . . who even sinks so low as to give the following definition of the doctrine of nihilism: "Take the heavens and the earth, take the state and the church, the kings and the gods, and spit upon them. That is our symbol."

<sup>1</sup>The well-known Russian poet and journalist.

We may certainly admit that if by nihilism we understand nonsense, nihilism and nonsense will have one and the same meaning. But it is equally true that with such methods of inquiry it is very difficult to succeed in understanding the real meaning of words and facts. And if we begin to ask where, in Russia, is the "actual fact" that might correspond to the word nihilism, we shall find nothing but the general intellectual movement that I have tried to describe. . . . Assuredly, the intellectual movement in Russia, as elsewhere, may, in certain individual cases, give rise to some ridiculous results, silly, lending themselves to caricature, sometimes, perhaps, even criminal. It is precisely from these special facts that the notion of nihilism has been built up, uniting them without any reason into one single idea, although they had no connection in reality. Thus, in nature, there are creatures that have tails; others that have the scales of lizards; others, again, with paws and claws like tigers: some, finally, with wings. When you combine all these attributes in a dragon, you have before you a creature of your imagination and not a real being. But, although the dragon plays a very useful part in stories with which to frighten children, it has no place in natural history. Neither, in a serious study of Russia, can nihilism, as a doctrine or a special tendency, have a place.

— "Russia, Political and Social," by L. Tikhomírov. London, 1888.

## APPENDIX D

### LAWS AND ORDERS OF THE GOVERNMENT WITH REGARD TO POLITICAL OFFENSES AND OFFENDERS

THE following are a few sections from the "Rules Relating to Measures for the Preservation of National Order and Public Tranquillity," approved by Alexander III. on the 14th of August, 1881, and promulgated in an Imperial Command on the 4th of September of the same year.

SECTION 5. [*a*] When public tranquillity in any locality shall be disturbed by criminal attempts against the existing imperial form of government, or against the security of private persons and their property, or by preparations for such attempts, so that, for the preservation of order, a resort to the existing permanent laws seems to be insufficient, then that locality may be declared in a state of reinforced safeguard.

[*b*] When by reason of such attempts the population of a certain place shall be thrown into a state of alarm which creates a necessity for the adoption of exceptional measures to immediately reestablish order, then the said place may be declared in a state of extraordinary safeguard.<sup>1</sup>

SECTION 15. Within the limits of such places [places declared to be in a state of reinforced safeguard] governors-general, governors, and municipal chiefs of police may [*a*] issue obligatory ordinances relating to matters connected with the preservation of public tranquillity and the security of the Empire, and [*b*] punish by fine and imprisonment violations of such ordinances.

SECTION 16. Governors-general, governors, and municipal chiefs of police are authorized also [*a*] to settle by administrative process cases involving violation of the obligatory ordinances issued by them; [*b*] to prohibit all popular, social, and even private meetings; [*c*] to close temporarily, or for the whole term of reinforced safeguard, all commercial and industrial establishments; and [*d*] to prohibit particular persons from residing in places declared to be in a state of reinforced safeguard.

<sup>1</sup> Reinforced safeguard [*usúlenoi akhrána*] and extraordinary safeguard [*cherezvuihái-noi akhrána*] are equivalent to our major state and minor state of siege.

[Remark.—Banishment to a specified place, even to one's native place, with obligatory residence there, will be allowed only after communication with the Minister of the Interior. Rules for such banishment are set forth in Sections 32–36.]

SECTION 32. The banishment of a private person by administrative process to any particular locality in European or Asiatic Russia, with obligatory residence there for a specified time, may not take place otherwise than with an observance of the following rules:

SECTION 33. The proper authority, upon becoming convinced of the necessity for the banishment of a private person, shall make a statement to that effect to the Minister of the Interior, with a detailed explanation of the reasons for the adoption of this measure, and also a proposition with regard to the period of banishment. [Remark.—The preliminary imprisonment of a person thus presented for exile to a specified place may be extended, by authority of the Minister of the Interior, until such time as a decision shall be reached in his case.]

SECTION 34. Presentations of this kind will be considered by a special council in the Ministry of the Interior, under the presidency of one of the Minister's associates, such council to consist of two members from the Ministry of the Interior and two members from the Ministry of Justice. The decisions of this council shall be submitted to the Minister of the Interior for confirmation.

SECTION 35. While considering presentations for exile the above-mentioned council may call for supplemental information or explanations, and, in case of necessity, may summon for personal examination the individual nominated for banishment.

SECTION 36. A period of from one to five years shall be designated as the term for continuous residence in the assigned place of exile. [Remark.—The term of banishment may be shortened or lengthened, in the manner prescribed in Section 34, within the limits set by section 36.<sup>1</sup>]

The following are the sections of the Russian penal code under which political offenders are prosecuted when brought before the courts:

SECTION 245. All persons found guilty of composing and circulating written or printed documents, books, or representations calculated to create disrespect for the Supreme Authority, or for the personal character of the Gossudar [the Tsar], or for the Government of his Empire, shall be condemned, as insulters of Majesty, to deprivation of all civil rights, and to from ten to twelve years of penal servitude. [This punishment carries

<sup>1</sup> *Journal of Civil and Criminal Law* [the organ of the St. Petersburg Bar Association], No. 6, Dec., 1881, pp. clv-clxi.



with it exile in Siberia for what remains of life after the expiration of the hard-labor sentence.]

SECTION 249. All persons who shall engage in rebellion against the Supreme Authority—that is, who shall take part in collective and conspirative insurrection against the Gossudar and the Empire; and also all persons who shall plan the overthrow of the Government in the Empire as a whole, or in any part thereof; or who shall intend to change the existing form of government, or the order of succession to the throne established by law; all persons who, for the attainment of these ends, shall organize or take part in a conspiracy, either actively and with knowledge of its object, or by participation in a conspirative meeting, or by storing or distributing weapons, or by other preparations for insurrection—all such persons, including not only those most guilty, but their associates, instigators, prompters, helpers, and concealers, shall be deprived of all civil rights and be put to death. Those who have knowledge of such evil intentions, and of preparations to carry them into execution, and who, having power to inform the Government thereof, do not fulfil that duty, shall be subjected to the same punishment.

SECTION 250. If the guilty persons have not manifested an intention to resort to violence, but have organized a society or association intended to attain, at a more or less remote time in the future, the objects set forth in Section 249, or have joined such an association, they shall be sentenced, according to the degree of their criminality, either to from four to six years of penal servitude, with deprivation of all civil rights [including exile to Siberia for life] . . . or to colonization in Siberia [without penal servitude], or to imprisonment in a fortress from one year and four months to four years.

These sections, it will be observed, are tolerably comprehensive. They not only include all attempts to overthrow the Government *vi et armis*; they not only cover all action “calculated to create disrespect for Majesty”; but they provide for the punishment of the mere intention to bring about a change of administration, at a remote time in the future, by means of peaceable discussion and the education of the people. Even this is not all. A man may be perfectly loyal; he may never have given expression to a single thought calculated to create disrespect for the Gossudar, or the Gossudar’s Government; and yet, if he comes accidentally to know that his sister, or his brother, or his friend belongs to a society which contemplates a “change in the existing form of government,” and if he does not go voluntarily to the chief of gendarmes and betray that brother, sister, or friend, the law is adequate to send him to Siberia for life.

## APPENDIX E

### THE TOMSK FORWARDING PRISON

SOME time after the publication in *The Century Magazine* of the article bearing the above title, an English traveler—Mr. H. de Windt—visited one or more of the Tomsk prisons, and wrote to the London *Pall Mall Gazette* a letter in which he said, among other things, that “the Tomsk prison, as graphically described in the pages of *The Century Magazine*, does not exist.” His first letter, and the correspondence to which it gave rise, will be found below.

#### I

TOMSK, SIBERIA, September.

I should first mention that permission to visit Tomsk, or any other Siberian prison [criminal or political], was at once granted to me on application to the Russian prison authorities, and without conditions as to time or place. Having at St. Petersburg signified my intention of not arriving at Tomsk until the 3d of October, I this morning presented myself at the prison gates of that city. This being the height of the transportation season, no time was lost on the way. Tomsk is the depot for Eastern Siberia and its prison, consequently, more likely at the present time to be overcrowded and “teeming with horrors” than at any other. I need hardly add that this was not my only reason for arriving unexpectedly.

The city of Tomsk is situated almost in the heart of Siberia, and lies rather more than half-way from St. Petersburg to the gold mines of Ner-tehinsk—the dreaded mines of which so much has been written of late. As far as Tomsk the journey is made entirely by steam, by way of the Volga and Obi rivers and Ural railway. At Tomsk the march commences, and if [physically] fit, a prisoner proceeds on foot to the prison or penal settlement to which he is sentenced. In case of sickness a score or so of telegas, or wooden carts, accompany each gang. Convicts for the island of Sakhalin are now sent by sea, in the cool season, from Odessa.

On producing the necessary document, signed by the Minister of the Interior at St. Petersburg, I was at once admitted to the Gubernski

Prison, a large two-storied brick building situated on the outskirts of the town. From the central and principal entrance a flight of stone steps lead to landings on the first and second story. Right and left of these are light, spacious, well-ventilated corridors, 100 by 15 feet, and on either side of these the "kamas," or public cells. There are sixteen in all, eight on each floor. I entered and minutely examined each, and can safely say that so far as regards cleanliness, ventilation, and light, no prison in Europe could have been better. The walls were whitewashed, the wooden flooring scraped and spotlessly clean, while three large barred windows [looking on to a public thoroughfare] let in light and air. Most of the prisoners were employed — some tailoring, some cobbling, others cigarette-making, and a few reading and writing — for a well-behaved convict in Siberia has many privileges. I should mention that the most crowded "kamera" I saw measured eighty feet long by twenty-four broad, and was fifteen feet high. It contained forty-one men, each of whom had his own canvas mattress and linen pillow [marked with the Government stamp] laid out upon the sleeping-platform, seventy feet long by fourteen broad, that ran down the center of the room. The sanitary arrangements were here, as elsewhere, perfect. I could not, throughout the prison, detect an offensive or even disagreeable smell. The infirmary in the upper story consists of two lofty rooms each forty-six feet long by eighteen feet broad. The wards are made to accommodate thirty patients, but there were to-day only six in all. Here, again, the light, cheerful rooms, iron bedsteads, clean white sheets, and scrupulous cleanliness would have done credit to a London or Paris hospital. Convalescents were dressed in warm, white flannel dressing-gowns, striped with blue — the infirmary costume. As I left, broth and white bread were brought to a patient. The prison doctor attends regularly morning and evening. With a passing glance at the pretty chapel, we next visited the ground floor, which consists of cells for political prisoners; four punishment cells [not dark]; a stone chamber, bisected by a wire grating, where prisoners are permitted to see their friends; the kitchen and bakery. I saw but two politicals — one a journalist undergoing a sentence of three months' imprisonment for a seditious article in a local newspaper; the other, for a greater offense, on his way from Moscow to Nertchinsk. Both wore their own clothes. A table, a chair, books, writing-materials, a lamp, and an iron bedstead, with linen sheets and pillow, comprised the furniture of these cells, which measured twelve feet high and twenty feet long by sixteen feet broad, and looked out through a large barred window on to the prison garden. The punishment cells, which with one exception were empty, measured eight feet high, ten feet long by ten broad. A description of the kitchen, with its clean, white-washed walls, tiled floor, huge caldrons for soup, and bright copper saucepans — of the bakery, with its innumerable ovens and rows upon rows of bread, brown and white, would be superfluous. Suffice it to say that a prisoner actually receives half a pound of meat,

a large bowl of "shtchi" or cabbage soup, one pound of brown bread, and a basin of gruel daily; a pint of "kvass," or spruce beer. In addition to this a prisoner may purchase, at his own cost, tea and pastry, cheese, butter, tobacco and other luxuries, but not alcohol. As regards clothing, he is allowed from the 1st of May to the 1st of September, three white linen suits, one sleeveless gray mezi great coat, two Glengarry caps of the same material, and every two months a pair of stout leather shoes. If on the march, these are replaced as soon as worn out. Only the most dangerous criminals wear chains. A pair of these is now in my possession. They weigh seven pounds and are worn over the trousers; *not*, as has been stated, against the skin. Next the "Gubernski," and separated from it by a public road, is a smaller prison (also of brick and two-storied) for women, criminal and political. The matron, a staid, respectable person in black, conducted me round the "kamas." Save that they are somewhat smaller, the latter are precisely similar to those of the "Gubernski," as light, clean, well-ventilated, and free from smell. In Siberia female prisoners do not wear prison dress, nor, with the exception of the sentry, are men employed in or about their prisons.

The *Century Magazine* of 1888-89 contains a series of articles on Siberian prisons by a Mr. George Kennan. Space will not permit of my discussing these further than as regards Tomsk prison. This is described, if I remember rightly, as being totally unfit for human habitation, a hot-bed of filth and disease, vice and immorality, engendered by the indiscriminate herding together, night and day, of men, women, and children. Upon the same writer's version of the treatment of prisoners I will not comment, having, in this letter, confined myself strictly to facts that have come under my own personal notice. As an Englishman, however, and consequently an unbiased observer, I venture to hope that my evidence will gain [in England at least] the credence that has been given to that of Mr. Kennan, an American journalist. Judging from the present state of things, I can only presume that a radical reform has taken place since that gentleman's visit and subsequent publications. If so, the Russian Government has indeed vindicated its evil reputation for procrastination. Be this as it may, Mr. Kennan will doubtless be glad to hear that the Tomsk prison, as graphically described in the pages of the *Century Magazine*, does not exist.

Sensational accounts of Siberian atrocities appear almost monthly in the newspapers. The English press, with few exceptions, sides with the "oppressed exile," and publishes with avidity every canard floated at New York or Geneva by the friends of political prisoners. Concerning the latter, I cannot as yet express an opinion; but in the face of what I have seen to-day, is it fair to believe implicitly all that we hear of the "diabolical cruelties" to criminal prisoners at Tomsk, Nerchinsk and Sakhalin?—*Pall Mall Gazette*, Sept. 24, 1890.



## II

TO THE EDITOR OF THE *Pall Mall Gazette*.

SIR: In the number of the *Gazette* issued Wednesday, September 24, 1890, there appears a letter from Mr. H. De Windt, the explorer of the desert of Gobi, in which that gentleman describes a visit made by him to the Tomsk prison, in Western Siberia, and in which, referring to my Siberian investigations, he says, "Mr. Kennan will doubtless be glad to hear that the Tomsk prison, as graphically described in the pages of the *Century Magazine*, does not exist." Will you kindly grant me space enough to correct an error into which Mr. de Windt has inadvertently fallen? If the distinguished explorer will consult the latest report of the Russian prison administration, which is in print, and which may be obtained without difficulty, he will find that there are two prisons in the city of Tomsk, one called the "gubérnski," or provincial prison, and the other the "perisilni," or exile-forwarding prison. The former is used almost exclusively as a place of detention or confinement for local offenders, while the latter is the great forwarding depot through which pass all exiles and convicts destined for central and Eastern Siberia. The prison described by me in the *Century Magazine* is the exile forwarding-prison, which receives and despatches eastward from 10,000 to 12,000 criminals every year. The prison visited and described by Mr. de Windt is a mere place of confinement for local provincial offenders, and does not contain as many hundreds of inmates as the forwarding prison contains thousands. It is a remarkable and significant fact that whenever a badly informed and credulous traveler arrives in the Siberian city of Tomsk, and expresses a desire to inspect the Tomsk prison, he is conducted by the amiable officials, not to the exile-forwarding prison, which, perhaps, is the thing that he really wishes and means to see, but to the "gubérnski," or provincial prison, which is nothing more than a local gaol. This was the course pursued with the Rev. Henry Lansdell, and this seems to be the plan that was adopted by the Tomsk officials in their dealings with Mr. de Windt. If either of these gentlemen, however, had taken the trouble to make even the most superficial inquiry in the city, outside the circle of the officials, he would have been made acquainted with the distinction between the city gaol and the forwarding prison, and would doubtless have asked to see the latter.

Mr. de Windt declares positively that the "Tomsk prison, as graphically described in the pages of the *Century Magazine*, does not exist." His letter bears the somewhat vague date "Tomsk, September," without specification of day or year, but from internal evidence it appears that it was written in September, 1889. On the 3d of that same month and year the *Russian Gazette*, one of the strongest and most influential newspapers in Moscow, devoted a long editorial to the condition of the Tomsk

forwarding prison in August, 1889, as shown by an article then just published in the *Tomsk Siberian Messenger*. At that time — not more than four weeks before Mr. de Windt wrote his letter — the Tomsk forwarding prison was not only in existence, but was in even a worse condition than that described in my article in the *Century*. According to the *Tomsk Siberian Messenger* — a conservative paper favored by the Government, and edited, moreover, under the strictest local censorship — the number of exiles in the forwarding prison at that time was “more than 4000” with a “prospect of 7000 in the near future”; and this in buildings that, according to the admission of Mr. Petukhóf, the acting-governor of the province, were intended to hold only 1400. “It is evident,” the Tomsk newspaper says, “that the prison is threatened with the outbreak of all sorts of diseases, which will spread to the city, and bring terrible suffering upon its inhabitants. What is going on, meanwhile, in this place of confinement can be imagined only by one who has witnessed personally the picture that it presents of overcrowding breathlessness and literal suffocation. [*Russian Gazette*, No. 231, Moscow, September 3, 1889.]

This article from the *Tomsk Siberian Messenger* must have been in print, and known to every intelligent citizen of Tomsk, at the very time when Mr. de Windt was writing, in that city, a letter declaring positively that the prison described by me, and referred to by the *Siberian Messenger*, did not exist. Mr. de Windt closes his letter with the inquiry, “Is it fair to believe implicitly all that we hear of the diabolical cruelties to criminal prisoners at Tomsk . . . ?” I would respectfully inquire in turn, “Is it fair to deal with a great subject in this careless, superficial way, and then ask English readers to accept one’s statements as based on real knowledge or thorough investigation?”

GEORGE KENNAN.

BOSTON, MASS., U. S. A., October 18, 1890.

— *Pall Mall Gazette*, November 4, 1890.

### III

TO THE EDITOR OF THE *Pall Mall Gazette*.

SIR: In a letter from Mr. George Kennan, the Siberian traveler, to the *Pall Mall Gazette* of November 4th, he says: “Kindly grant me space to correct an error into which Mr. de Windt has inadvertently fallen. He will find that there are two prisons in the city of Tomsk — one called the ‘gubernski,’ or provincial prison, and the other the ‘perisylni,’ or exile-forwarding prison. The former is used exclusively for local offenders, while the latter is the great forwarding depot through which pass all exiles destined for Central or Eastern Siberia. The prison described by me in the *Century Magazine* is the exile or forwarding prison; the prison visited and described by Mr. de Windt is a mere place of confinement for

local offenders." Mr. Kennan concludes: "When a badly informed or credulous traveler arrives he is conducted, not to the forwarding prison, but to the gubernski," inferring, apparently, that the latter prison is the only one I saw. Allow me to suggest that it is Mr. Kennan who, to quote his own words, has "made superficial inquiries and been badly informed." He would otherwise be aware of the fact that there are not two but *three* prisons in Tomsk — the "Gubernski," the "Perisyl'ni," and the "Arrestantski"; all of which I visited as lately as last August. The former I have already briefly described in your journal and others. An account of the two latter would have been too voluminous for a newspaper, but will appear in my forthcoming work on the prisons of Western Siberia. I may add that I devoted three whole days to a minute inspection of the "Perisyl'ni," or exile prison (which your correspondent described, and, somewhat rashly, assumes I did not enter), but entirely failed to recognize it from the ghastly descriptions in the *Century Magazine*.

I can quite understand this gentleman's reluctance to admit any facts but his own (English travelers are unfortunately rare in Tomsk), but that such an authority on Siberia as Mr. George Kennan should have been, up till now, unaware of even the existence of one of its largest prisons seems almost incredible. It may, or may not, interest him to hear that I this year visited the famous Tiumen prison (the horrors of which he has so graphically described), and traveled for nearly a fortnight down the river Obi in a convict barge, containing over six hundred exiles, to whom I was allowed free access, unaccompanied by officials.

I will not trespass further upon your valuable space, for this subject has already been discussed *ad nauseam* in the English press. Let me, however, assure Mr. Kennan that, in so far as he and his allegations against the Russian Government are concerned, I intend, in my work, to deal with this subject in anything but a "careless or superficial" way.

I am, Sir, yours faithfully,

H. DE WINDT.

BERLIN, Nov. 6, 1890.

— *Pall Mall Gazette*, Nov. 13, 1890.

#### IV

TO THE EDITOR OF THE *Pall Mall Gazette*.

SIR: I beg pardon for trespassing again upon your space and courtesy, but it seems necessary to say a few words in reply to Mr. de Windt's letter from Berlin concerning the Tomsk prisons.

1. If, at the time when the distinguished explorer wrote the letter that appeared in the *Gazette* of September 24, 1890, he was not aware of the existence of the Tomsk Forwarding Prison, his investigation, certainly, was a very careless and superficial one. If, on the other hand, he *was*

aware of its existence, his declaration that the "Tomsk prison, as graphically described in the pages of the *Century Magazine*, does not exist" was deceptive and misleading, and his whole letter was disingenuous. His apparent attempt to evade this dilemma by retorting that I, myself, was ignorant of the existence of a third prison in Tomsk—namely the "Arrestántski," or "Arrestántski Otdyellénie"—only furnishes another proof of the careless way in which he investigates. If he will do me the honor to read—or perhaps read again—the *Century* article that he criticizes, he will find, on page 873, a reference to this very same "Arrestántski" prison of whose existence he thinks I have been "up till now" unaware. If he will take the further trouble to consult the last published report of the Russian prison administration, he will find that the "Arrestántski" is not "one of its [Siberia's] largest prisons," as he declares it to be, but rather a prison of the fourth or fifth class, through which there passed, in 1888, only about 200 criminals [Rep. of the Russ. Pris. Adm., p. 43, Ministry of the Interior, St. Petersburg, 1890]. Through each of Siberia's "largest prisons," properly so called, there passed, in the same period, from 14,000 to 19,000 suspects, exiles and convicts. [Same Report, pp. 136–137.] The size of the "Arrestántski" prison is not a matter of much importance, but why not describe it accurately, and why not read with attention the literature of one's subject, or at least the statements that one pretends to criticize?

2. Mr. de Windt makes no reply to the facts that I set forth in my previous letter with regard to the overcrowding of the Tomsk forwarding prison in August, 1889, and I presume, from his silence, that he is reserving them for discussion in the "forthcoming work" which is to deal with me and my "allegations against the Russian Government in anything but a careless and superficial way." While awaiting the appearance of this more thorough and accurate piece of work, I beg to submit, for Mr. de Windt's consideration, a few facts with regard to the sanitary condition of the Tomsk prisons as shown by recent official reports. In the year 1887 there passed through the Tomsk city prisons [not including the forwarding prison] 1089 offenders. Of this number 212, or 19.5 per cent., became so seriously ill while in prison as to require hospital treatment. Typhus fever—a preventable filth-disease—constituted 62 per cent. of the whole aggregate of prison sickness. [Rep. of Russ. Pris. Adm. for 1887, pp. 314 and 317, Ministry of the Interior, St. Petersburg, 1889.] In 1886, which is nearer the time to which my investigations relate, the sick in these same prisons constituted 35.2 per cent. of the whole number of prisoners. [Same Rep., p. 315.] In 1887 the proportion of sick prisoners to the whole number that passed through the six prisons "of general type" in the province of Tomsk was more than 37 per cent. [Same Rep., p. 306.] In 1884, the year before I went to Siberia, there were in the prisons of the province of Tomsk three hospitals with 230 beds. In these three prison hospitals there were treated that year 1514 prisoners, of whom 259,



or more than 16 per cent., died. [Rep. of Russ. Med. Dept. for 1884. *Eastern Review* of St. Petersburg, No. 50, Dec. 17, 1887, p. 3. In 1885, the year of my visit to Siberia, the sick-rate in the prisons of Tomsk was more than 42 per cent. [Rep. of Russ. Pris. Adm. for 1885, *Eastern Review* of St. Petersburg, No. 50, Dec. 17, 1887, p. 3.] In 1887, according to the report of the Russian Medical Department for that year, the hospital of the Tomsk Forwarding Prison contained 276 beds. As the fall advanced and the prison became more and more overcrowded, the number of the sick, which even before that time had exceeded the capacity of the hospital, rose to 520. The beds were then taken out and the sick were laid on the floor. Still there was not room for them all, and many were left in the overcrowded cells where they spread infection among the well, and especially among the children. [Rep. of Russ. Med. Dept. for 1887, pp. 201-207. Ministry of the Interior, St. Petersburg, 1889.]

Perhaps Mr. de Windt, in his "forthcoming work," after dealing suitably with me and my "allegations," will kindly explain how it happens that in prisons which he describes as "clean and well conducted" typhus fever constitutes 62 per cent. of the whole aggregate of disease, and why it is that prisoners who, he says, are "kindly treated and well cared for" ungratefully fall sick at the rate of 19 to 42 per cent., and then die at the rate of 16 per cent. When he has made this explanation, I shall be greatly obliged to him if he will point out to me the page and paragraph where, in describing the prisons he has seen, I used the words "hells upon earth," which he puts into quotation marks and seems to attribute to me. —[*Daily News*, Nov. 13, 1890.]

GEORGE KENNAN.

NEW YORK CITY, U. S. A., Nov. 30, 1890.

— *Pall Mall Gazette*, Dec. 16, 1890.

My own description of the Tomsk forwarding prison is so completely sustained at every point by the Russian official reports, that it is perhaps unnecessary to append further references and quotations; but Mr. de Windt seems disposed to make this a test case of trustworthiness, and, so far as I am concerned, I am perfectly willing to treat it as such.

At the time of my visit to the prison in question there were in the city of Tomsk two newspapers — one, the *Siberian Gazette*, a liberal periodical, edited by the well-known Russian anthropologist and archæologist, Mr. A. Adriánof, and the other, the *Siberian Messenger*, a more conservative journal, edited and published by Mr. V. Kartamíshef. Both of these papers were under the strictest local censorship, and the censor was State Councilor Nathaniel Petukhóf, vice-governor of the province. Such being the case, it is obvious that neither of these journals would be

allowed to publish false information with regard to the administration of provincial affairs, and that the censor, who was at the same time the acting-governor, would unhesitatingly cross out any description of the Tomsk forwarding prison that, in his judgment, was exaggerated, or unduly pessimistic. Let us see, then, what the acting-governor of the province allowed the Tomsk newspapers to say about this great exile-forwarding depot the same fall that I visited it and wrote the "ghastly descriptions," from which Mr. de Windt says he entirely failed to recognize the prison described. Under the heading "City News," the *Siberian Gazette* referred to the overcrowding of the prison in question as follows:

The excessively large number of exiles lately received has compelled the local authorities to put them not only into the forwarding prison, where on the 1st of October there were 2140 prisoners [not counting the sick], but also into the prison castle where at the same time there were 1120, and even into the building of the "convict company" [arrestántski rôt], to which were sent 120 families. The sick were housed in the forwarding prison, where there were more than 300, and in the prison castle, where there were 80. During the month of October the number of exiles increased to 3400, of whom 2400 were confined in the forwarding prison. This prison was built to accommodate only 1200 persons, and its capacity is now even less than that, owing to the fact that three out of the eleven prison buildings have been given up to the sick. The overcrowding of the hospital is already so great that the surgeon can receive no more patients, and the sick must be left in the same cells with those that are yet well. This state of things bears very heavily upon the children.

—*Siberian Gazette*, No. 42, Tomsk, Oct. 20, 1885, p. 1114.

The editors of the two Tomsk newspapers were so opposed to each other in character, temperament, and journalistic policy, and were, moreover, on such hostile terms personally, that they would not speak to each other when they met accidentally in my room. Nevertheless, in their opinion of the Tomsk forwarding prison they heartily coincided, and the conservative, Government-favored paper, having less to fear, was much more bold and uncompromising in the expression of its views than was the humane and liberal journal of Mr. Adriánof. Four days after the appearance of the above-quoted paragraph in the *Gazette*, the *Messenger*, in a leading editorial on the same subject, said, "A month has now elapsed since the suspension of the movement of exile parties from Tomsk into Eastern Siberia. This intermission, which is customary and is due

to the breaking up of the roads by autumnal storms, has caused a particularly large accumulation of exiles this year in the Tomsk forwarding prison, and has had an extremely unfavorable influence upon its sanitary condition. Notwithstanding the removal of 700 exiles to the prison castle, and 200 to the building of the reform section, there are still more than 2400 in the forwarding prison, including 400 sick. It can be imagined how 2000 persons are crowded when they are put into eight one-story buildings, each thirty fathoms long and containing eighty-six cubic fathoms of air space, and all together intended to accommodate only 1200 to 1400 souls. The hospital is still more overcrowded. With a normal capacity of 150 it now contains 400 sick prisoners, who are lying side by side on the floor, between the beds, and in all the corridors and passages. Many of them are not only without mattresses but without bedding of any kind. To this must be added, moreover, the fact that the surgeon sends to the hospital only prisoners who are so seriously ill that their well comrades have to carry them. Those who are still able to walk — although they may be in the incipient stages of typhus fever or some other disease — are left in their cells, simply because there is no possibility of accommodating all of the sick in the hospital. The overcrowding is already so great that the surgeon, in order to gain room, has been forced to remove all the beds from one ward and put the sick on the floor. The rate of mortality is very high, and Dr. Orzheshko<sup>1</sup> says that the deaths for October will probably reach 100. Typhus is the predominating disease, but it is accompanied by smallpox, diphtheria, measles, and scarlatina. Cases are not rare in which prisoners have typhus fever twice in succession; and children have been known to take the infection first of typhus, then of smallpox, and finally of diphtheria or scarlatina. Contagion has saturated all the walls of the prison, and the harvest of death is reaped without mercy."

In another part of the same paper the feuilletonist said :

The Tomsk forwarding prison is a great nursery of contagious diseases. Typhus, of all sorts and species, smallpox, scarlet fever, and diphtheria, breed there so abundantly, and in such luxuriant forms, that it is a matter for surprise that we all — citizens of Tomsk — are not lying in the peaceful "God's Acre" that separates the city from this anti-sanitary station. The prison increases by one hundred per cent. the city's mortality, and gives Tomsk the reputation of killing her people without pity. From

<sup>1</sup> The prison surgeon.

the beginning of May to the end of September, every year, there are sent from Tiimén to Tomsk floating prisons known as "barges," or "typhus-carriers," and they bring to us, with unfailing promptness and regularity, the most perfect specimens of typhus that exist. In a nursery of contagious diseases that was built to accommodate 1600, but that holds, when necessary, just twice that number, these typhus specimens develop, of course, most satisfactorily. In the early spring this disease-nursery is not a nursery at all, it is a prison of the most common kind, and empty at that; but no sooner does spring wave her perfumed wings — no sooner is the whistle of the steamer heard on the river — than the nursery begins to receive the necessary material — the prison becomes reanimated. Week after week its population increases, and week after week its hospital, built to hold 150 patients, fills up. The more people there are in the prison, the more go into the hospital, until, at last, towards the end of September, when the steamers cease to whistle and the season of raw and cold weather comes on, this place of grief and lamentation appears in its true character as an anti-sanitary station and a nursery of contagious diseases. The prisoners' cells, crammed to suffocation, furnish precisely the environment that is needed for the perfect development of the charming little creatures that the microscope has rendered visible. They develop without delay, and tens of prisoners go every day to the hospital. The latter contains 150 beds, and there are 400 sick. In order to accommodate them all it is necessary to remove the beds and lay the patients on the floor. Some of them have to lie there without anything under them, because, for a quarter of them — that is, for 100 persons — there is not even bedding. . . . Imagine if you can this picture: You enter a large log building, through a very small entry or hall, and find yourself, at once, in a room filled with people lying on the floor. The gray mass is sighing, groaning, shrieking in delirium, and slowly suffocating in the oppressive, foul-smelling air. And this is called a hospital! There are women with little babies — a mother sick with typhus fever and her infant with small-pox or scarlatina. Good God! is it possible that all this *must* be so — that it *cannot* be otherwise? These little children are not exiled by sentence of a court or "by the will of the commune" — these unfortunate wives are going into exile voluntarily with their unfortunate husbands. For what crime should they bear such suffering, and why should so many of them have to lay their bones in the earth of Tomsk? Year after year all this is repeated over and over again. In the city of Tomsk 50 persons out of every 1000 die in the course of a year. In the forwarding prison 100 persons out of every 1000 die in the course of four months. For ten years past it has been demonstrated, and admitted, that the forwarding of exiles must be differently managed, or the prison must be enlarged. Hundreds of times it has been said, and written, that such a hospital kills people instead of curing them — and still everything goes on as of old, and the disease-nursery continues to turn out more and more complicated and



interesting forms of physical disorder. When will all the papers be written that it is necessary to write, in order that, at last, the thing may be done that it is necessary to do?—*Siberian Messenger*, No. 24, Tomsk, Oct. 24, 1885, pp. 1 and 14.

Such is the account of the Tomsk forwarding prison that is given by the Tomsk press, and approved for publication by the acting-governor of the province of Tomsk. It seems to me to be much more nearly in harmony with my "ghastly descriptions" than with Mr. de Windt's "light, spacious, well-ventilated corridors"; cells equal to those of any prison in Europe; "perfect sanitary arrangements"; "convalescents in warm, white flannel dressing-gowns"; and "light, cheerful rooms, iron bedsteads, white sheets, and scrupulous cleanliness, that would have done credit to a London or Paris hospital."

It may, perhaps, be thought that between the time when I saw this prison and the time when Mr. de Windt "entirely failed to recognize it" from my "ghastly descriptions" something had been done by the authorities to greatly change its aspect, if not wholly to transform it, but I regret to say that such is not the case. Year after year I find in the Siberian newspapers, or in the official reports of the prison administration and the medical department, the same old melancholy story. In October, 1886,—one year later than the time to which the above extracts refer,—the *Siberian Gazette*, with the approval of the vice-governor of Tomsk, published, under the heading "City News," the following brief but significant paragraph:

Dr. Órzheshko<sup>1</sup> informs us that the forwarding prison, at the present time, is filled to overflowing with the sick. They number 340, and the majority of them have typhus fever. Dr. Órzheshko's assistant, Dr. Hermanof, has taken the infection and is also down with typhus. Among the children of the exiles diphtheria prevails to a terrible extent, and in its most virulent form. The mortality is enormous. In view of the fact that the forwarding prison has become the home of contagious diseases, and will not soon be free from them, all possible measures should be taken to prevent the spread of such diseases from the prison to the city.—*Siberian Gazette*, No. 42, Tomsk, Oct. 19, 1886, p. 1172.

The next year is 1887, for which we have the report of the Russian medical department on "The Sanitary Condition of Prisons."

<sup>1</sup> The chief surgeon of the Tomsk forwarding prison.

From this official report it appears that in the fall of 1887 there were 3000 exiles in the Tomsk forwarding prison, with adequate room for less than 1500; that 520 of them were sick at one time, with hospital beds for only 276; that most of the patients lay on the hospital floor as usual; and that a large number of sick, for whom there was not even hospital-floor space, remained in the prison *kámeras*, spreading infection among the well, and particularly among the children.<sup>1</sup>

The prison, apparently, was not so changed and improved as to be unrecognizable in 1888, for the chief of the prison administration reported, at the end of that year, that 2059 exiles had gone into the prison hospital, and that 24 per cent. of them were sick with typhus fever. [Rep. of Pris. Adm. for 1888, pp. 55 and 293. Ministry of Interior, St. Petersburg, 1890.] There had evidently been no change in the prison buildings, for the *Siberian Messenger* declared, at the end of the year, that

most of the *kámeras* in the forwarding prison . . . are impossibly cold, damp and dark, and are more like stalls in a barn than human habitations. It is time, at last, that some attention were paid to this state of things. . . . The bad construction of the *kámeras* is one of the principal reasons for the great amount of sickness among the prisoners. It is well known that typhus fever and other diseases prevail there without intermission.

—*Russian Gazette*, No. 28, Moscow, Jan. 28, 1889.

There is some uncertainty as to the time when Mr. de Windt *first* visited the Tomsk forwarding prison and failed to recognize it from my description; but the exact time does not matter, since there is plenty of evidence to show that, when he wrote his letters to the *Pall Mall Gazette*, the Tomsk forwarding prison was still the same institution that the *Tomsk Messenger* called a "nursery of contagious diseases," and that acting-Governor Petukhóf described to me as "the worst prison in Siberia." In my first letter to the *Pall Mall Gazette* [p. 513 of this appendix] I quoted the statements of the *Siberian Messenger* with regard to the terrible condition of affairs in the forwarding prison in August, 1889. In 1890—last year—Mr. Gálkine Wráskoy, chief of the Russian prison administration, published a review of the operations of his department, for the first decade of its existence, and caused it to be translated into French for the information of the dele-

<sup>1</sup> Rep. of the Med. Dept., pp. 201-207. Ministry of the Interior, St. Petersburg, 1889.

gates to the St. Petersburg meeting of the International Prison Congress. In this review he refers cautiously to the Tomsk forwarding prison as follows:

Le dépôt de transfert de Tomsk contient, à la fin de la période de navigation 3000 détenus environ, quoique la contenance de cet établissement ne lui permette de donner place qu'à 1200 individus. Cela provient du fait que pendant cette période 500 à 600 détenus sont amenés chaque semaine à Tomsk sur les barques de service tandis que les détenus expédiés de cette ville par la route d'étape à pied ne dépassent pas le chiffre de 250-400 par semaine pendant l'été et 150 pendant l'hiver: ces chiffres dépendent du nombre des détachements d'escorte de la quantité d'emplacements libres dans des bâtiments d'étape et dans les prisons d'Atchinsk et de Krasnoïarsk. Ainsi, sur chacun des 18 convois de détenus amenés sur des barques de Tumène à Tomsk, il reste dans le dépôt de cette dernière ville sans avoir été expédiés à destination, de 100 à 200 individus, ce qui pour la fin de la période de navigation en représente 3000 à 4000. Pour mettre fin à cet encumbrement excessif du dépôt de transfert de Tomsk ainsi que des dépôts de Krasnoïarsk, il a été élaboré à l'administration générale des prisons un projet, consistant à transporter les détenus de Tomsk à Irkoutsk sur des chariots à un cheval, au nombre de 250 individus par semaine. Avant de soumettre ce projet au conseil de l'Empire il a été demandé l'avis du ministre des Finances qui s'est prononcé dans un sens favorable à la combinaison.

— *Administration Générale des Prisons, Aperçu de son Activité pendant la Période Décennale, 1879-1889, p. 158, St. Pétersbourg, 1890.*

The chief of the prison administration could hardly be expected, in a report intended for the International Prison Congress, to illustrate descriptively and pictorially the result of putting 3000 or 4000 prisoners into buildings intended for only 1200; but he admits the fact, and it now remains for Mr. de Windt to show in what respect my description of this prison is inconsistent with the facts set forth concurrently in the Siberian periodical press, in the reports of the prison administration, in the reports of the medical department, in the statements of the prison surgeon, and in the review prepared by Mr. Gálkine Wrásskoy for the International Prison Congress. I trust that he will also explain why, in his first letter to the *Pall Mall Gazette*, he described the Tomsk city gaol in such a way as to make it appear to be the exile-forwarding prison, and why he asserted, without hesitation or qualification, that "the Tomsk prison, as graphically described in the pages of the *Century Magazine*, does not exist."

## APPENDIX F

### CONDITION OF PRISONS

IN this appendix will be found a few facts and statements concerning Siberian prisons, derived partly from Siberian newspapers and partly from official reports. It will be seen that they cover a series of years, both before and after my journey to Siberia, and that they relate to prisons in all parts of northern Asia from the mountains of the Urál to the mines of Kará. Most of the articles quoted from Siberian periodicals were read and approved by the local press censors before they were published, many of them had express official sanction, and none of them, so far as I know, has ever been disputed or questioned in the newspaper where it originated. For greater convenience of reference I have arranged the statements and descriptions, so far as possible, in alphabetical order under the names of the prisons to which they relate.

#### THE ÁCHINSK PRISON.

The Áchinsk prison is a *clouca*, where human beings perish like flies. Typhus fever, diphtheria, and other epidemic diseases prevail there constantly, and infect all who have the misfortune to get into that awful place. Not long ago a young girl — Miss Nikítina — <sup>1</sup> died there of typhus fever, and in that prison Mr. L——ko contracted the typhus from which he died in Krasnoyársk. — Newspaper *Sibír*, No. 1. Irkútsk, Jan. 1, 1885.

In the Áchinsk prison matters are still worse. There one doctor has on his hands more than 300 sick, in a small cramped hospital, and with a very limited number of attendants. What can one unfortunate doctor do in such circumstances?

— Newspaper *Vostochnoe Obozrénie*, No. 3. St. Petersburg, Jan. 22, 1887.

<sup>1</sup> A political offender exiled by administrative process. Her story will be found in chapter XI, Vol. 1.



The hospital of the Áchinsk prison consists of three barracks, one for men one for women, and one for families. The first thing that astonishes you, as you enter the hospital building, is the intolerable [*oduráíushchaya* — literally “maddening”] stench, which makes an unaccustomed person sick at the stomach.<sup>1</sup> The wards are ventilated by means of holes pierced in the walls [and that in only a few of the rooms], but these holes are generally stuffed with rags by the patients themselves to prevent cold draughts. The water-closets are not only never disinfected, but never even ventilated; and the pools and masses of excrement on the floors show that they are rarely if ever cleaned. The sick have repeatedly begged the hospital administration to abate the stench, but without result. Insects of every possible kind are so abundant that they constitute the dominating population of the hospital, and the patients serve as their food. There are masses of filth under the beds, and the mattresses are so seldom changed that persons coming into the hospital for treatment frequently get at once two or three new diseases. The sick, for some reason, do not wear hospital garb, but go about in the common convict dress; and it is not unusual to see patients who have no shoes or slippers, and who are compelled to splash through the pools of the water-closet in their stocking-feet. The food is fairly satisfactory, although the meat is generally short in weight and the milk in measure. The number of attendants is so small that it is impossible for them properly to discharge their duties. One attendant, for example, has to look after sixty patients. The care of the sick is wholly inadequate, and after the evening “verification” [that is, in winter, after 4 P. M.], the doors are locked and the sick are left to care for themselves. No matter what may happen between that time and eight o’clock on the following morning, medical help cannot be had. The doctor’s time is so occupied with private practice, and work in the city hospital, that he comes to the prison only once a day for an hour or two, while the hospital steward spends in the hospital only five or six hours a day. Such is our prison Bethesda.

—Áchinsk correspondence of the newspaper *Sibírskaya Gazéta*, No. 30. Tomsk, April 17, 1888.

With regard to the condition of the prison in Áchinsk, our correspondent writes us as follows: “As soon as you enter the courtyard of the prison you notice the contaminated, miasmatic air; but the principal source of the contamination is the water-closet in the small corridor at the entrance to the prison building. Dante himself would have thrown down his pen if he had been required to describe the damp, cold, dilapidated cells of this prison. At night myriads of bedbugs torture every prisoner

<sup>1</sup> When the governor-general passed through Áchinsk, the hospital administration had the wards thoroughly fumigated. [Editorial note.]

into a condition not far removed from frenzy. The prison sometimes has 600 inmates, and to its filth and disorder are attributable the typhus fever, diphtheria, and other diseases that spread from it, as from a pit of contagion, to the population of the city."

It is commonly said that European Russia has no prisons for criminals, and that it is necessary, therefore, to send the latter to Siberia; but the pictures drawn by our correspondents show what is the condition of the Siberian prisons to which these criminals are sent, and into which there are sometimes crammed more than 2000 exiles. Siberian prisons contaminate not only the Siberian air, but the morals of the Siberian people.

— Newspaper *Vostochnoe Obozrenie*, No. 22, p. 4. St. Petersburg, June 2, 1883.

Typhus fever constituted 16.6 per cent. of all the sickness in the Achinsk prison in 1886, and 10.8 per cent. in 1888.

— Rep. of Chf. Pris. Adm. for 1886 and 1888, pp. 221 and 292.

If you once glance into the Achinsk prison you will never forget it. I have seen many prisons and *étapes*, but not one worse than this. As you look at the prisoners in these *cloaca*, you are simply astonished at the capacity of the human organism for endurance. When I said to the warden, "Why don't you try to clean your prison — at least a little?" he replied, "Galkine Wrasskoy [the chief of the Russian prison administration] saw it all just as it is. The only way to make this prison endurable is to burn it down and build another — and where are you going to get the money?" There was nothing to be said after that.

— "Prisons and Etapes" by I. P. Belokónski. Orël, 1887.

#### THE BALAGÁNSK PRISON.

The Balagánsk prison is one of the oldest buildings in the city, and long ago fell into decay. Official correspondence has been in progress for many years with regard to the erection of a new prison, but it was not until recently that the sum of 19,000 *rúbles* was appropriated for the purpose, and the work of construction will not begin until spring. It is hard to understand how living human beings can continue to exist in the present prison ruins. There is no separate hospital connected with the prison, nor even an independent prisoners' kitchen; but in a small wing are the quarters of the warden, and there a room has been set apart for a hospital, and there, in the warden's kitchen, the prisoners do their cooking. You will find in the hospital neither dishes, nor utensils, nor linen in sufficient quantities, nor medicines. The food is scanty and bad. Meat is hardly given to the prisoners at all, and the bread is of such quality that, to adopt the words of a director of the prison committee

who recently visited the prison, "it is doubtful whether pigs would eat it."

— Balagánsk correspondence of newspaper *Sibírskaya Gazeta*, No. 42, pp. 1119-1120. Tomsk, Oct. 20, 1885.

Scurvy constituted 28.4 per cent. of all the sickness in the Balagánsk prison in 1888. — Rep. of Chf. Pris. Adm. for 1888, p. 293.

#### THE BARNAÛL PRISON.

All sorts of disorders and irregularities are reported in the Barnaül prison, including drunkenness, fraud, embezzlement, counterfeiting [the tools and materials for which were furnished to the prisoners by the police], and murder.

— Newspaper *Vostóchnoe Obozrénie*, No. 12, p. 9. St. Petersburg, June 17, 1882.

Scurvy constituted 14.5 per cent. of all the sickness in the Barnaül prison in 1886. — Rep. of Chf. Pris. Adm. for 1886, p. 223.

#### THE BIRUSÍNSKI ÉTAPE.

Typhus fever constituted 15.2 per cent. of all the sickness in the Birusínski étape in 1886, 17.5 per cent. in 1887, and 43 per cent. in 1888.

— Rep. of Chf. Pris. Adm. for years indicated, pp. 222, 316, and 293.

#### THE CHEREMKHÓFSKI PRISON.

The condition of the Cheremkhófski prison is described to us by an eye-witness as something terrible. In four small cells [which do not contain, all together, more than 1700 cubic feet of air] there are packed thirty prisoners, including five or six women—one of them decrepit—and a baby.<sup>1</sup> The cells are foul and stinking; the floors, in many places, have rotted and given way; and the sleeping-platforms are dirty and broken. Fleas and bedbugs are there in myriads, and, to use the expression of one of the prisoners, "they just regularly drink blood." No clothing is furnished, and some of the prisoners have nothing to wear but the shirts in which they were arrested. In short, it is impossible to describe all that one can see. "This is a grave and not a prison," said one young

<sup>1</sup> According to Prof. Huxley the air space required by one adult human being is 800 cubic feet. The 1700 cubic feet in the Cheremkhófski prison, therefore, would have been adequate for two prisoners only. In private residences in Russia, the air space regarded as essential for one grown person is a little more than the whole amount of air space available in the Cheremkhófski prison for thirty persons. [See magazine *Rússkaya Misl.*, p. 61. Moscow, May, 1891.] [Author's note.]

prisoner, and he characterized it with perfect justice. It is said that the other district and village prisons are in a similar condition.

—Newspaper *Sibir*, No. 45, p. 10. Irkútsk, Nov. 3, 1885.

#### THE IRKÚTSK PRISONS.

The inmates of the Irkútsk prison castle have a very hard life—principally on account of the extremely limited space in the cells—but the people who deserve the most sympathy and pity are the exiles. In winter they accumulate in the forwarding prison in such numbers that very many of them have to sleep under the *návi*, on the cold, damp floor, and suffer incredible privations. Their unfortunate situation is made worse by the fact that they are not supplied with clothing, but have to wear such rags as they possess of their own. Many of them do not know what it is to have a change of under-clothing, and, generally speaking, they are in a state that would justify them in accusing Diogenes himself of living in luxury.

—Newspaper *Sibir*, No. 1, p. 3. Irkútsk, Jan. 1, 1884.

The Irkútsk forwarding prison was overcrowded to the extent of more than twice its normal capacity in 1887.

—“The Sanitary Condition of Prisons,” Report of the Medical Department for 1887. Ministry of the Interior, St. Petersburg, 1889.

The following are the official statistics of sickness and mortality in all the “prisons of general type” in the province of Irkútsk for the years 1886, 1887, and 1888:

	1886.	1887.	1888.
Average daily number of prisoners .....	1335	1311	1280
Average daily number in hospital .....	212	192	160
Sick-rate—per cent. ....	15.8	14.6	12.5
Total number of deaths .....	56.	84.	90
Death-rate—per cent.....	4.2	6.4	7.

—Rep's. of Chf. Pris. Adm. for years indicated, pp. 10, 9, and 9.

The sick-rate in Belgian prisons is 2.7 per cent., and the death-rate 1.7 per cent. —Rep. of Lond. Meeting of Internatl. Pris. Cong., p. 78.

#### THE IRKÚTSK CITY PRISON.

The Irkútsk prison is a large brick building, two stories in height, with its front façade just opposite the long bridge over the brook Ushakóvka. As you cross the bridge the building has quite a beautiful appearance, and the idea that it is a prison does not at first enter your head. But it



is not beautiful within. You enter the long vaulted gateway, and notice at once a heavy odor; but it is not very bad, as there is plenty of air. From this gateway there are two entrances; one, on the right, leading to the corps-de-garde, and the other, on the left, to the chapel and the hospital. From the latter comes the stench. Beyond these entrances there are more iron gates, and on the other side of them is the court. The courtyard is clean, but the odor in the cells is murderous. . . . On the left extends a low building with twelve or thirteen windows. In it are the secret *kámeras* where they keep particularly important criminals. Here it is comparatively clean and neat — better than in any other part of the prison, not excepting the so-called “office of the warden.” The bath-house is too small for such a prison, where the number of prisoners sometimes reaches 2000, and the common cells and the hospital are incredibly dirty and stinking.

—“Afar,” by M. I. Orfánof, p. 216.

In the Irkútsk city prison, typhus fever constituted 11.8 per cent. of all the sickness in 1888. — Rep. of Chf. Pris. Adm. for 1888, p. 292.

#### THE ISHÍM PRISON.

The Ishím correspondent of the newspaper *Sibir*, after referring to the murder of a prison inspector there by a prisoner, says: “It has long ceased to be news that the prisons in Siberia are hot-beds not only of moral but of physical contagion. And it is not surprising that they should be such. Not long ago I happened to meet, in a temperature of forty degrees below zero [Reaum.], a whole party of exiles clothed merely in *khaláts*, without warm overcoats or felt boots. Among them were many young children — also thus unprotected. In the rooms of the police station, to which the prisoners were taken, the coughing of the emaciated little ones was incessant. The consequences soon became apparent. Throat diseases began to prevail in the city among children, and typhus fever among adults. It is said that in one exile party that recently arrived here there were thirty typhus patients. The condition of the local prison, packed as it is with prisoners [there were recently 380 instead of 250 — the number for which it was designed], is not such as to lessen the severity of the epidemic. The city physician, Dr. V. S. Volashkévich, recently took there the infection of typhus, and died after a short illness.

— Newspaper *Sibir*, No. 11, p. 10. Irkútsk, March 10, 1885.

The sick-rate in the Ishím prison in 1884 was 39.7 per cent. [computed upon the whole number of prisoners]. It has not since been reported.

— Rep. of Chf. Pris. Adm. for 1884, p. 217.

## THE ISHÍM ÉTAPE.

Typhus fever constituted 55.2 per cent. of all the sickness in the Ishím étape in 1886, 50 per cent. in 1887, and 16.6 per cent. in 1888.

— Rep's of Chf. Pris. Adm. for years indicated, pp. 222, 317, and 292.

## THE KARÁ PRISONS.

Complaints come to us from Kará of the rough and inhuman treatment of convicts by the Cossacks of the prison guard. "Not long ago," writes one correspondent, "I myself saw a soldier knock a convict down without provocation, and then trample upon and kick him." Is not this barbarous treatment of convicts the reason for the constantly recurring disorders at Kará? — Newspaper *Sibir*, No. 26, p. 5. Irkútsk, June 23, 1885.

We learn from Kará that, as a result of the recently discovered abuses there, almost all of the old officials have been discharged and new ones put in their places. How much better the latter will be than the former, time will show. — Newspaper *Sibir*, No. 26, p. 5, Irkútsk, June 23, 1885.

Scurvy constituted 15 per cent. of all the sickness in the Lower Kará prisons in 1884. — Rep. of the Chf. Pris. Adm. for 1884, p. 222.

## THE KÍRINSK PRISON.

The Kírinsk prison is a wooden building, surrounded by a stockade, and is everywhere supported, inside and outside, by log props, without which it would long ago have fallen down from sheer decay. At the time of my visit to the prison one of the prisoners thrust his finger out of sight into the rotten wood of one of the logs, in order to show us how old and decayed the walls were. This year the ceiling fell in one of the cells and buried the prisoner who occupied it; but he was taken out alive. The building is very cold, and can hardly be warmed on account of its old and decayed condition. . . . At the time of my visit it contained eighty-six prisoners, although it was built to hold not more than fifty at the utmost. . . . The warden complained that since September, 1882, the authorities in Irkútsk had sent him no clothing of any kind for the prisoners, so that the latter could not leave their cells to work, nor even go out of doors to take a walk. . . . One of the prisoners—a woman named Dolgopólova—complained to me that she had lain three years in this prison, waiting for her case to be tried by the Yakútsk circuit court. The male prisoners complained most of overcrowding. Many of them had to sleep not only on the floor, but under the *nári*. . . . There is no hospital in the prison, and sick prisoners are sent to the Kírinsk city

hospital, which, in point of incredible foulness and stench, is not paralleled by any similar institution, even in the most northerly and most remote towns of Siberia. The water-closet, evidently, is never cleaned, and liquids from it have run into the unwarmed corridor through which patients have to come to the closet, and have there frozen into a stratum of foul ice. Most of the sick lie on the floors, for want of cots, and lie so closely together that there is barely room to enter the *kámeras*. They all complained — and those lying on the floor complained with tears and lamentation — of the terrible cold in the *kámeras*, from which they were freezing without any means of covering themselves or getting warm. The temperature was really such as to necessitate a fur coat and cap. In one small separate cell lay two syphilitic patients — a man and a woman together, as there was no ward for women suffering from that disease — and on a pile of rags under a table in one corner of that same cell lay, cowering and getting behind each other, like puppies or kittens, two little children under three years of age belonging to the woman. The *isprávník* explained that he had tried to make some other disposition of the children, in order to save them from infection; but that none of the inhabitants of the town would take them.

Exile parties, upon their arrival in Kírlnsk, stop in this prison and are put into the corridor, since there is no forwarding prison here, and all the cells are already full of prisoners awaiting trial or undergoing punishment. When I visited the prison on the 17th of February, it contained an exile party numbering 120 which had just arrived from Irkútsk. Among these exiles were seven dangerously sick with typhus, and three more or less frozen. As there was no room for them in the hospital, they were laid on the floor of the corridor, and on the benches or shelves of a little store-room. On the march from Irkútsk, one exile had frozen to death. According to the statement of the warden, about one-tenth of all the exiles that come from Irkútsk arrive in Kírlnsk without proper winter clothing, having sold their *khaláts* and *shúbas*, either for intoxicating liquor or for food. Some justify themselves for so doing by saying that they receive only fourteen *kopéks* a day for their subsistence, that black rye bread sometimes costs there nine or ten *kopéks* a pound, and that they are forced to sell their outer garments in order to get enough to eat.

—“The Prisons of the Lena Region,” by Vladímír Ptítsin. In magazine *Séverni Véstnik*, St. Petersburg, December, 1889.

#### THE KRASNOYÁRSK PRISON.

Every year, at the time of the autumnal ice-run in the Yeniséi River, the forwarding prison and the *ostróg* become overcrowded with prisoners. Last fall they contained 2000 persons, although intended for only 600. One can imagine what takes place in prisons thus overcrowded — the ter-

rible suffocation, the filth, the dampness, etc. The prisoners have no laundry, and therefore they either wash their underclothing in their cells, or wear it for three or four weeks without washing. In the water-closets it is actually necessary to fight for a place, since for every such place there are a hundred or more prisoners. In view of these facts it is not surprising that the prison hospital now contains 200 patients sick with typhus in one form or another, and that twenty or thirty more are added daily to its lists. Even the prison attendants take the disease, and two overseers have already died of it. It is a matter for surprise that the prison authorities, with more than 300 sick on their hands, content themselves with the two prison doctors, instead of calling in outside physicians as they have done in previous years. However, in Achinsk the condition of things is still worse. There they have only one prison doctor.

— Newspaper *Vostochnoe Obozrénie*, No. 3, p. 6. St. Petersburg, Jan. 22, 1887.

Scurvy constituted 16.5 per cent. of all the sickness in the Krasnoyársk prison in 1886, 10.8 per cent. in 1887, and 11.6 per cent. in 1888. Typhus fever constituted 12.2 per cent. in the same prison in 1888.

— Rep's of Chf. Pris. Adm. for years indicated, pp. 222, 292, 293, and 317.

#### THE NÉRCHINSK PRISON.

The year 1884 has left Nérechinsk quite an inheritance of undesirable things, and among them contagious disease. Typhus fever, which first made its appearance in November, is now widely prevalent. The nursery of the contagion is that same old prison, famous for its filth, rotteness, and suffocating air. Four men died of typhus in it at the close of the year, and the overcrowding was such as to compel the authorities to remove all the women into another building hired for the purpose. From the prison and the prison hospital the disease was carried by the soldiers of the guard to the local command, where, out of twenty-five men sick, ten have typhus fever. The warden of the prison and the hospital steward are also down with the disease. General Barabásh, governor of the Trans-Baikál, inspected the prison on the 30th of December as he passed through here on his way to the Amúr, and was astounded by its hygienic condition.

— Newspaper *Sibirskaya Gazéta*, No. 7, p. 169. Tomsk, February 17, 1885.

Scurvy constituted 23.6 per cent. of all the sickness in the Nérechinsk prison in 1886.

— Rep. of Chf. Pris. Adm. for 1886, p. 223.



Mr. Gálkine Wráskoy, chief of the Russian prison administration, finds the prisons at the Nérehinsk mines to be in bad condition, and the medical attendance deficient.

— Newspaper *Vostóchnoe Obozrénie*, No. 26, p. 2. St. Petersburg, September 23, 1882.

#### THE PERM FORWARDING PRISON.

The following are the official statistics of sickness and mortality in the Perm forwarding prison for the years 1886, 1887, and 1888.

	1886.	1887.	1888.
Average daily number of prisoners .....	345 ..	280 ..	306
Average daily number in hospital .....	59 ..	37 ..	47
Sick-rate — per cent. ....	17.1 ..	13.2 ..	15.3
Total number of deaths .....	84 ..	34 ..	54
Death-rate — per cent .....	24.3 ..	12.1 ..	17.6

— Rep's of Chf. Pris. Adm. for years indicated, pp. 53, 53, and 55.

The sick-rate in Danish prisons ranges from 2.11 to 2.13 per cent., and the death-rate from 1.75 to 1.79 per cent.

— Rep. of Internatl. Pris. Cong., London meeting, p. 78.

#### THE SHERAGÚLSKI ÉTAPE.

Typhus fever constituted 35.7 per cent. of all the sickness in the Sheragúlski *étape* in 1886, 23.4 per cent in 1887, and 39.1 per cent. in 1888.

— Rep. of Chf. Pris. Adm. for years indicated, pp. 222, 317, and 293.

The *étapes*, with a few exceptions, are in an unsatisfactory condition, and some of them are in ruins. In the Sheragúlski *étape*, which has only two *kámeras* with thirty-six cubic fathoms of air space, there are crowded as many as fifty sick prisoners, of all ages and both sexes. They lie on the sleeping-platforms or under them as it may happen, and the stench in the *kámeras* is such that it can be borne with difficulty, even for a few moments. The grievously sick, for want of attendance, wallow on the floor in the midst of filth and evacuations from the bowels, and their clothes rot on their bodies. Still worse, according to the reports of the physicians, is the condition of the women that are compelled to give birth to children under the eyes of the male prisoners. The situation of the children themselves is also terrible.

—Newspaper *Vostóchnoe Obozrénie*, No. 26, p. 1. St. Petersburg, September 23, 1882.

## THE TIRÉTSKI ÉTAPE.

Typhus fever constituted 26.5 per cent. of all the sickness in the Tirétski *étape* in 1886, 19 per cent. in 1887, and 32.9 per cent. in 1888.

—Reps. of Chf. Pris. Adm. for years indicated, pp. 223, 316, and 293.

## THE TOBÓLSK PRISONS.

The following are the official statistics of sickness and mortality in all the "prisons of general type" in the province of Tobólsk for the years 1886, 1887, and 1888:

	1886.	1887.	1888.
Average daily number of prisoners . . . . .	2178 ..	2206 ..	2273
Average daily number in hospital . . . . .	264 ..	215 ..	212
Sick-rate — per cent. . . . .	12.1 ..	9.7 ..	9.3
Total number of deaths . . . . .	227 ..	265 ..	246
Death-rate — per cent. . . . .	10.4 ..	12. ..	10.8

—Reps. of Chf. Pris. Adm. for years indicated, pp. 23, 21, and 21.

The sick-rate in French prisons is from 4 to 5 per cent., and the death-rate from 3.6 to 3.8 per cent.

—Rep. of Internat'l Pris. Cong., London meeting, p. 79.

## THE TOMSK PRISONS.

The following are the official statistics of sickness and mortality in all of the "prisons of general type" [not including the forwarding prison] in the province of Tomsk for the years 1886, 1887, and 1888:

	1886.	1887.	1888.
Average daily number of prisoners . . . . .	1133 ..	1122 ..	1208
Average daily number in hospital . . . . .	92 ..	90 ..	104
Sick-rate — per cent. . . . .	8.1 ..	8. ..	8.6
Total number of deaths . . . . .	42 ..	48 ..	52
Death-rate — per cent. . . . .	3.7 ..	4.2 ..	4.3

—Reps. of Chf. Pris. Adm. for years indicated, pp. 22, 22, and 21.

The sick-rate in Swedish prisons is from 4. to 4.10 per cent., and the death-rate from 2 to 3 per cent.

## THE TOMSK FORWARDING PRISON.

The following are the official statistics of sickness and mortality in the Tomsk forwarding prison for the years 1886, 1887, and 1888:

	1886.	1887.	1888.
Average daily number of prisoners . . . . .	1418	1491	1734
Average daily number in hospital . . . . .	172	211	206
Sick-rate — per cent. . . . .	12.1	14.1	11.9
Total number of deaths . . . . .	329	314	228
Death-rate — per cent. . . . .	23.2	21.	13.1

—Reps. of Chf. Pris. Adm. for years indicated, pp. 53, 53, and 55.

The death-rate among leased convicts in the Mississippi convict camps, between 1881 and 1885, ranged from 8.48 to 15.61 per cent. This is hardly more than half the death-rate of the Tomsk forwarding prison, and yet the *Memphis Commercial* says even such figures “tell the story of ill-usage, inhumanity, and brutal treatment.”

—*Memphis Daily Commercial*, p. 1. Memphis, Tenn., July 27, 1890.

Typhus fever constituted 56.4 per cent. of all the sickness in the Tomsk forwarding prison in 1886, 62.6 per cent. in 1887, and 23.8 per cent. in 1888.

—Reps. of Chf. Pris. Dept. for years indicated, pp. 222, 317, and 293.

## THE VÉRKHNI ÚDINSK PRISON.

Mr. M. I. Orfánof, a well-known Russian officer, who inspected the Vérkhni Údinsk prison at intervals for a number of years previous to our visit, has described it as follows:

The first prison in the Trans-Baikál is that of Vérkhni Údinsk. It stands on the outskirts of the town, on the steep high bank of the Selengá River. Over the edge of this bank, distant only five or six fathoms from the prison, are thrown all the prison filth and refuse, so that the first thing that you notice as you approach it, at any time except in winter, is an intolerable stench. The prison itself is an extremely old two-story log building intended to accommodate 140 prisoners. During my stay in Siberia I had occasion to visit it frequently. I never saw it when it held less than 500, and at times there were packed into it more than 800. I remember very well a visit that I once made to it with the governor of the Trans-Baikál. He arrived in winter and went to the prison early in the morning so that the outer door of the corridor was opened [for the

first time that day] in his presence. The stench that met him was so great that, in spite of his desire to conceal from the prisoners his recognition of the fact that their accommodations were worse than those provided for dogs, he could not at once enter the building. He ordered the opposite door to be thrown open, and did not himself enter until a strong wind had been blowing for some time through the prison. The first thing that he saw, in one corner of the corridor, was an overflowing *parásha* [excrement bucket] and through the ceiling was dripping filth from a similar *parásha* in the story above. In that corner of the corridor he found six men lying on the floor asleep. He was simply astounded. "How can people sleep," he exclaimed, "on this wet, foul floor, and under such insupportable conditions?" He shouted indignantly at the warden and other prison authorities, but he could change nothing.

— "Afar," by M. I. Orfánof, pp. 220 – 222. Moscow, 1883.

Scurvy constituted 13.7 per cent of all the sickness in the Vérkhni Údinsk prison in 1888.

— Rep. of Chf. Pris. Dept. for 1888, p. 293.

#### THE YENISÉISK PRISONS.

The following are the official statistics of sickness and mortality in all the prisons "of general type" in the province of Yeniséisk for the years 1886, 1887, and 1888.

	1886.	1887.	1888.
Average daily number of prisoners.....	1715	1877	2117
Average daily number in hospital.....	427	449	445
Sick-rate—per cent.....	24.9	23.9	21
Total number of deaths.....	247	231	205
Death-rate—per cent.....	14.4	12.3	9.6

— Reps. of Chf. Pris. Adm. for years indicated, pp. 9, 9, and 9.

Death-rate in railroad convict camps in North Carolina in 1879 and 1880 11.5 per cent.; in Texas convict camps 4.7 to 5.4 per cent.

—"The Convict Lease System in the Southern States," by George W. Cable, *Century Magazine*, vol. xxvii, p. 582.

#### PRISONS IN GENERAL.

A correspondent of the *Nóvoe Vrémya* reports that, notwithstanding the recent journey through Siberia of the chief of the prison administration, Mr. Gálkine Wrásskoy, the unsatisfactory condition of the prisons and of the exiles remains unchanged. The whole prison question, the



correspondent adds, resolves itself into a question of money. If money be forthcoming, prisons will be forthcoming.

— Newspaper *Vostochnoe Obozrénie*, No. 16, p. 8. St. Petersburg, July 15, 1882.

The following incident has been related to us as characteristic of our Siberian methods. A young man [well known in St. Petersburg] of incorruptible honesty, who had just been graduated from the university, came to a certain East-Siberian town to act as district attorney. Soon after his arrival he happened to be called upon to take the place of the procureur, and, in pursuance of his duty, visited the prison. He noticed there various disorders which were of such a nature as to render the police-master and the prison warden liable to criminal prosecution, and upon these disorders he made a report. It was read before the prison committee and made a very unpleasant impression. The chairman even said that the author of such a report had best look for a place in some other province. The report had no influence upon the fortunes of the prisoners, or of the police, but it had important consequences for the author, who was at once accused by the police of "political untrustworthiness." "What an excellent way," our correspondent adds, "to get rid of zealous young men who insist upon an observance of the laws!"

— Newspaper *Vostochnoe Obozrénie*, No. 37, p. 6. St. Petersburg, December 19, 1882.

— Newspaper *Éólos*. St. Petersburg, December 10, 1882.

— Newspaper *Sibir*, No. 5. Irkútsk, January 30, 1883.

Not long ago the newspapers published a statement with regard to the unsatisfactory condition of the East-Siberian prisons, and the disorders said to have been discovered therein. We are now assured that, up to the present time, no particular disorders have been discovered. We accept this assurance willingly, but we cannot forget the official reports that we have seen of the provincial governors describing the extremely lamentable condition of the prisons.

— Newspaper *Vostochnoe Obozrénie*, No. 8, p. 7. St. Petersburg, May 20, 1882.

A few days ago the *Journal de St. Petersbourg* printed a notice of the journey through Siberia of Privy-councilor Gálkine Wrásskoy, chief of the prison administration. . . . We have received from a perfectly trustworthy source the following information with regard to the results of his observations. . . . He inspected seven provincial, territorial, and district prisons, the convict prisons of Tobólsk and Alexándrofsk, the forwarding prisons of Tiúmén, Tomsk, and Krasnoyársk, and seventy *étapes* and *polu-étapes*. We understand that they did not make upon him

a very satisfactory impression. In point of construction and maintenance the only prisons found to be tolerable were the provincial prisons of Irkútsk and Krasnoyársk, and the district prisons of Omsk and Kansk. The prisons of Tobólsk and Tomsk, it is said, were in an extremely neglected condition so far as repairs were concerned, and the latter furnished an illustration, in all respects, of the complete indifference of the provincial authorities. Money for the rebuilding of a number of district prisons in the province of Tomsk—in Marínsk, Káiusk, Barnaül, and Bíusk—was asked for and granted as long ago as 1874, but the actual work of reconstruction has not yet [in 1882] begun in a single one of those towns, and the contractors for the Marínsk and Káiusk prisons are insolvent. The Siberian forwarding prisons are all overcrowded, and those in Tiunén and Tomsk are filled with sick [typhus patients and others] who, for want of hospital accommodations, are left in the same *kámeras* with the prisoners that are well.<sup>1</sup>

—“The Journey of Privy-councilor Gálkine Wrásskoy through Siberia.” Newspaper *Vostóchnoe Obozrénie*, No. 26, p. 1. St. Petersburg, September 23, 1882.

Report of Mr. Gálkine Wrásskoy, chief of the prison administration, upon the condition of Russian prisons in 1881.

En l'absence de chiffres précis pour l'ensemble des prisons à l'époque dont nous parlons, on peut citer certaines données caractéristiques se rapportant à la fin de l'année 1881, sans oublier que ces données ont été recueillies après qu'avaient déjà été prises certaines mesures pour l'évacuation des lieux de détention, et par conséquent qu'elles répondent à une situation déjà améliorée par rapport à celle des années précédentes. Il en ressort que pour 76,090 places destinées aux détenus il y avait 94,796 de ceux-ci ; autrement dit, l'encombrement des prisons s'exprimait par une proportion de 19 per cent. par rapport au chiffre total des prisonniers, et par une proportion de plus que 24 per cent par rapport à la quantité effective des emplacements dans les prisons. Ces chiffres représentent une moyenne pour l'ensemble des lieux de détention ; si on entre dans le détail, on constate que, dans 15 gouvernements, pour une place réservée aux détenus, on trouvait de 1.5 à 2 de ces derniers ; dans 9 gouvernements, on en trouvait plus de 2, soit jusqu'à 2.7 ; dans un gouvernement, celui de Piotrokow, on en trouvait 5.2. . . . Les rapports des autorités locales et les comptes-rendus des agents du ministère chargés d'inspecter les établissements de détention, représentent l'état des prisons sous un jour très peu favorable. Indépendamment du fait que certaines prisons avaient été établies dans des maisons particulières louées à cet effet, lesquelles

<sup>1</sup> It will be remembered that the authorities in Irkútsk recently assured us, in print, that in Eastern Siberia no prison disorders whatever had been discovered. [Note of the editor of the *Vostóchnoe Obozrénie*.]

étaient mal adaptées et quelques-unes tout à fait impropres à cet usage, ou bien que d'autres étaient situées dans édifices appartenant à l'Etat mais aménagés pour des services tout différents — celles mêmes des prisons qui étaient construites spécialement, comme telles se faisaient remarquer, dans la majorité des cas, par leur état de vétusté, l'humidité qui y régnait, l'insuffisance de l'air et de la lumière, le peu de commodité des arrangements intérieurs, et l'état affreux dans lequel étaient entretenus les lieux d'aisance. Certains édifices, à la lettre, offraient l'aspect de ruines; d'autres n'avaient pas d'enceinte extérieure manquaient de cuisines, de fours à pain, de bains, de bouanderies, de séchoirs, corps-de-garde caves et hangars. L'absence de locaux pour les ateliers était un phénomène presque général. Là même où autrefois avaient existé des ateliers, par exemple les ateliers de prisons des provinces de la Vistule; il fallait les fermer et les transformer en locaux d'habitation. Beaucoup de prisons manquaient de quartiers de femmes et de logements pour le personnel pénitentiaire.

— Administration Générale des Prisons, Aperçu de son Activité pendant la Période Décennale, 1879 – 1889, pp. 6–8. St. Pétersbourg, 1890.

In a review of the report from which the above extract has been made, the *Russian Gazette* of Moscow says: "Upon reviewing the operations of the chief prison administration for the past ten years, we must recognize the fact that, with unquestionably good intentions, it has not succeeded, up to the present time, in removing a single one of the crying evils of the exile system." — *Russian Gazette*, No. 234, p. 1. Moscow, July 25, 1889.

Statement of ex-Senator Grot, formerly president of the Russian prison council, with regard to the condition of Russian prisons.

. . . . The whole penitentiary question in Russia is in a state of transition and reform. It would be very difficult to furnish extended details of the actual condition of the prisons, especially as the old administration, in expectation of a reform whose commencement dates only from the year 1860, neither could nor would, in these latter years, put in operation any radical measures. All that I can say is that the state of our prisons is very bad. We have neither good prison structures, nor employés specially prepared for the prison service. The labor is imperfectly organized, and the greater part of the prisoners have nothing to do. Even the youths are not everywhere separated from the adult prisoners. It must be said, however, that in these later times the penitentiary question has great interest for the Russian public, and books begin to issue from the press relating to it.

— Letter to Mr. E. C. Wines, quoted in the second annual report of the U. S. Commissioner of Labor, p. 455, Washington, 1887.

In the annual report of the medical department of the Ministry of the Interior for 1884, the prisons and prison hospitals of Tomsk, Yeniséisk, and Irkútsk are referred to as follows:

From the reports of the medical administrations it is evident that the sanitary condition of many prisons, both in the provinces and in the territories, is extremely unsatisfactory. The majority of them are altogether too small for the number of prisoners usually contained in them. Many of them lack proper ventilation, have badly constructed retirades, or are situated on low, damp ground. The prisons in which the absence of favorable hygienic conditions is most marked are those situated in the provinces of . . . Yeniséisk, Irkútsk, and Tomsk, and in the territory of the Trans-Baikál. Many prison hospitals are not provided with proper hospital supplies or appliances, and are so small that they cannot accommodate all of the sick. In many prisons, moreover, there is no special medical staff.

— Rep. of Med. Dept. for 1884, Min. of the Int., St. Petersburg, 1886.

The following are the sick-rates in a number of Siberian prisons for the year 1884, since which time they have not been reported.<sup>1</sup>

<i>Situation of Prison.</i>	<i>Sick-rate, per cent.</i>	<i>Situation of Prison.</i>	<i>Sick-rate, per cent.</i>
Barnaül . . . . .	37.1	Marinsk . . . . .	11.9
Bíisk . . . . .	37.9	Minusínsk . . . . .	26.3
Ekaterínburg . . . . .	26.3	Tára . . . . .	48.1
Kamishlóva . . . . .	21.2	Tiukalínsk . . . . .	47
Kansk . . . . .	43.1	Turínsk . . . . .	21.7
Kuznétsk . . . . .	52		

— Rep. of Chf. Pris. Adm. for 1884, pp. 216, 217.

The following are the sick-rates in the city prisons of Tomsk and Tobólsk for the years 1883–88 inclusive, computed upon the basis of the total annual number of prisoners.

	1883.	1884.	1885.	1886.	1887.	1888.
Tomsk [per cent.] . . . . .	20.7	23.5	42.6	35.2	10.3	8.3
Tobólsk [per cent.] . . . . .	32.4	31	41.1	45.4	26.8	21.4

— Reps. of Chf. Pris. Adm. for 1886, pp. 220, 221, and Reps. for 1887 and 1888, pp. 291 and 291.

In well-conducted European and American prisons such preventible diseases as typhus and scurvy have long been virtually un-

<sup>1</sup> The computation has been made upon the whole number of prisoners for the year, not upon the daily average number.



known. Both have prevailed to some extent in the convict camps of our Southern States, but I have failed to find any reference to them—at least in epidemic form—in the recent records of regularly organized prisons, either in western Europe or America. Both are common in Russian prisons from St. Petersburg to Kamchátka. Below will be found a statement of the proportion of these diseases to the whole aggregate of sickness in a number of Siberian prisons for a series of years. It is a very incomplete and unsatisfactory statement, for the reason that typhus and scurvy do not appear in the Russian official reports at all unless they constitute more than ten per cent. of the total amount of sickness, and I have been unable, therefore, to fill out the tables.

## TYPHUS.

<i>Place.</i>		1884.	1886.	1887.	1888.
Áchinsk .....	per cent.....	..	16.6 ..	..	10.8
Birusínski <i>étape</i> .....	“ .....	..	15.2 ..	17.5 ..	43
Irbít .....	“ .....	..	..	..	12
Irkútsk .....	“ .....	..	..	..	11.8
Ishím <i>étape</i> ..	“ .....	..	55.2 ..	50 ..	16.6
Koliván .....	“ .....	..	..	77.7 ..	..
Krasnoyársk .....	“ .....	..	..	..	12.2
Marínsk .....	“ .....	13.1 ..	..	..	..
Perm .....	“ .....	..	..	17.5 ..	..
Sheragúlski <i>étape</i> .....	“ .....	..	35.7 ..	23.4 ..	39.1
Tirétski <i>étape</i> .....	“ .....	..	26.5 ..	19 ..	32.9
Tiumén .....	“ .....	23.2 ..	10.9 ..	..	..
Tomsk forwarding prison .	“ .....	..	56.4 ..	62.6 ..	23.8

— Reps. of Chf. Pris. Adm. for years indicated, pp. 222, 221, 316, and 292.

## SCURVY.

<i>Place.</i>		1884.	1886.	1887.	1888.
Alexándrofsk per cent .....	..	13.2 ..	..	..	..
Balagánsk ...	“ .....	..	..	..	28.4
Barnaül .....	“ .....	..	14.5 ..	..	..
Chíta.....	“ .....	..	10.7 ..	..	..
Ekaterínburg .	“ .....	..	..	..	15.7
Kará [Lower] ..	“ .....	15 ..	..	..	..
Khabarófka ..	“ .....	22.8 ..	10.5 ..	20 ..	..
Krasnoyársk ..	“ .....	16.5 ..	10.8 ..	11.6 ..	..
Nérehinsk ....	“ .....	23.6 ..	..	..	..
Pavlodár. . . .	“ .....	..	..	..	15.7
Vérkhni Údinsk	“ .....	..	..	..	13.7
Yakútsk .....	“ .....	..	25 ..	..	19.6

— Reps. of Chf. Pris. Adm. for years indicated, pp. 222, 222, 317, and 293.

## IMPROVEMENTS AND AMELIORATIONS.

Below will be found references to all of the improvements and ameliorations in the condition of Siberian prisons and prisoners that I have been able to find in the reports of the prison administration for the years that have elapsed since my return from Siberia.<sup>1</sup>

<i>Place.</i>	<i>Nature of Improvement.</i>
ALEXÁNDROFSK . . .	3500 <i>rúbles</i> appropriated in 1886 for new kitchen, bakery, and water-closet in Alexándrofsk central prison. Rep. p. 80.
ALEXÁNDROFSK . . .	Erection of new forwarding prison begun in 1886 and finished in 1888. Reps. pp. 82 and 99.
BALAGÁNSK. . . .	15,000 <i>rúbles</i> appropriated for new prison in 1888. Rep. p. 84.
BÍISK . . . . .	New prison finished in 1888. Rep. p. 99.
BLAGOVÉISHCHENSK.	New prison finished in 1886. Rep. p. 103.
IRKÚTSK. . . . .	25,000 <i>rúbles</i> appropriated in 1888 for new prison hospital. Rep. p. 84.
KHABARÓFKA . . .	New prison finished in 1886. Rep. p. 90.
KRASNOYÁRSK. . .	3000 <i>rúbles</i> appropriated in 1886 for capital repairs to the city prison. Rep. p. 86.
NERCHÍNSK. . . .	65,000 <i>rúbles</i> appropriated in 1886, 37,000 in 1887, and 55,000 in 1888, to continue work on new prisons at the Nérchinsk mines. Reps. pp. 79, 82, and 84.
NERCHÍNSK. . . .	New prison finished in 1888 at the Nérchinsk mine of Górní Zerentúi. Rep. p. 99.
PERM. . . . .	2000 <i>rúbles</i> appropriated in 1888 for the organization of a women's section in the Perm prison. Rep. p. 89.
TOBÓLSK. . . . .	A new palisade erected around the Tobólsk city prison. Rep. p. 88.
TOMSK [city] . . .	30,000 <i>rúbles</i> appropriated for the erection of hospital barracks in the Tomsk forwarding prison. Rep. p. 94.
TOMSK [province] .	1000 <i>rúbles</i> appropriated for repairs to the Suslëfski <i>étape</i> in 1886, and 5240 <i>rúbles</i> for the reconstruction of it in 1887. Reps. pp. 84 and 88. 1300 <i>rúbles</i> appropriated in 1888 for capital repairs to the Tiazhinski <i>polu-étape</i> . Rep. p. 91.

<sup>1</sup> The reports of the Russian prison administration are not published until two years or more after the time to which they

relate, and the report for 1888, which appeared in 1890, is the last that I have received.

<i>Place.</i>	<i>Nature of Improvement.</i>
TRANS-BAIKÁL . .	4448 <i>rúbles</i> appropriated in 1886 for enlarging the [territory] Strétinsk <i>étape</i> . Rep. p. 84.
VÉRKHNI ÚDINSK .	New prison finished in 1886. Rep. p. 90.
YAKÚTSK [province]	33,000 <i>rúbles</i> appropriated in 1887 for the, erection of <i>étapes</i> along the river Lena. Rep. p. 103.
YENISÉISK [province]	729 <i>rúbles</i> appropriated for a well at the Kozúl-skaya <i>étape</i> . Rep. p. 80.

The most important works included in the above list are the new prisons at Vérkhni Údinsk and Górní Zerentúí. Unfortunately they were both unnecessarily expensive, and both, in my judgment, were erected in places where they were least needed. The prison buildings that were in most urgent need of enlargement or reconstruction, it seemed to me, were the forwarding prisons of Tiúmén, Tomsk, and Áchinsk, the *étapes* between Tomsk and Irkútsk, and the *étape* lazarets of Birusínskaya, Tirétskaya, and Sheragúlskaya, which were not only shamefully overcrowded, but were literally hot-beds of virulent contagion. Nothing seems to have been done, however, since my return from Siberia, to relieve the terrible overcrowding of the prisons and *étapes* along the great Siberian road.

## APPENDIX G

### REPORTS OF THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF EASTERN SIBERIA TO THE TSAR

A PART of the first report of Governor-general Anúchin to the Tsar upon the state of affairs in Eastern Siberia. Delivered to Alexander II., in person, by Adjutant Kozéllo in December, 1880. From a "secret" copy.

During my journey to Irkútsk I inspected a great number of prison institutions, and I regret to have to say that, with the exception of the prison castles in Krasnoyársk and Irkútsk, they are all—that is district prisons, forwarding prisons, and *étapes*—in a lamentable condition. The state of the *étapes* in Eastern Siberia is particularly bad, and has already attracted the serious attention of the Minister of the Interior. Large sums of money have been spent in repairs upon them, and 250,000 *rúbles* have been appropriated recently for the erection of new *étapes* in the territory of the Trans-Baikál. I doubt, however, whether it will be possible to accomplish anything of serious importance without a change in the existing conditions. There is even danger that the new *étapes* in the territory of the Trans-Baikál will share the fate of the *étapes* in the provinces of Yeniséisk and Irkútsk. The reason for this is the lack of technical experts. In the whole of Eastern Siberia, notwithstanding its great distances and enormous area, the civil lists provide for only seventeen architects and architect's assistants. And even this number is greater than that of the persons actually so employed, because, on account of the inadequate compensation received by technical experts here and the ease with which they can find profitable work in European Russia, they are reluctant to come to remote Siberia and enter a service which promises only material and moral privations. Such being the case, most Government buildings here are erected under a technical supervision which is nothing more than nominal. In reality they are built by contractors without any supervision whatever. For example: it is the intention of the Government to erect in the Trans-Baikál territory in 1881 thirty-one *étapes* and *polu-étapes*, which will be scattered over a distance of 1043 *versts*. This work is to be done under the supervision of a single archi-



tect, who, moreover, is burdened with the responsibility for an expensive new prison in the town of Vėrkhni Údinsk, as well as for all other architectural work in a territory having an area of 547,965 square *versts*. It is manifest that one architect cannot cope with this amount of work; and the lack of technical supervision, by affecting disadvantageously the durability of the structures, results in the necessity for speedy repairs. In order to avoid these difficulties—the removal of which is beyond the limits of my power, but the responsibility for which rests on the local Siberian administration—I made a proposition to the Minister of the Interior to increase the salaries of the technical experts for whom provision is made in the East-Siberian civil lists.<sup>1</sup> I do not ask for an increase in the number of officers provided for in the civil lists, but only for an increase in their salaries; and I do this in the hope that I shall thus attract hither a class of officers for whom there are always vacancies. I estimate at 9190 *rúbles* the increase of expenditure that this will necessitate. It will be far more economical for the imperial treasury to authorize this increased annual outlay than to spend a large amount at one time on badly constructed buildings. The losses that result every year from the bad construction of Government buildings in Eastern Siberia is incomparably greater than the amount of the proposed new expenditure. If the latter be authorized, it will at least be possible, on the one hand, to have in Eastern Siberia the necessary number of technologic officers, and on the other to make the local authorities responsible for the proper use of the building appropriations.<sup>2</sup>

A part of the second report of Governor-general Anúchin to the Tsar upon the state of affairs in Eastern Siberia. Delivered to Alexander III. in March, 1882. From a "secret" copy.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Marginal note in the handwriting of the Tsar: "What has hindered this?" *i. e.* Why has this not been done?

<sup>2</sup> This report was written and delivered to the Tsar in 1880. Four years later the petty question of appropriating 9190 *rúbles* to increase the salaries of Government architects in Eastern Siberia had not even reached the stage of consideration in the Council of the Empire. The appropriation was trifling in amount [about \$4600]; it was urged by the governor-general; the Tsar himself wanted to know why it had not been made; nobody, apparently, had any objection to it; and yet it was impossible to get the proposed reform under way. Governor-general Anúchin finished his term of service in Eastern Siberia and returned to European Russia without having seen this thing done. One of the ad-

vantages of an autocratic and despotic form of government is supposed to be the promptness with which a desirable change can be effected, but I doubt whether there is a country on the globe in which it is more difficult to get a certain class of useful things done than in Russia. If the thing that would be useful to the people promises to be profitable also to the high officials of the bureaucracy, it can be brought about in twenty-four hours; but if it be a measure of administrative economy, a scheme to secure impartial justice, or humanitarian reform, it may languish in obscurity for twenty-four years.

<sup>3</sup> This report was in my possession only a short time, and I was compelled to make the following translation very hurriedly. It is not as smooth and idiomatic in construction, therefore, as I could wish, but it

Siberia has served for a long time as a place to which are sent, from all parts of the empire, the more heinous class of criminals, who have been sentenced to penal servitude, forced colonization, or banishment. In addition to these criminals, there are sent to Siberia persons turned over by communes to the disposition of the Government, and persons who have been imprisoned for crime and whom the communes will not afterward receive. Hard-labor convicts and forced colonists are sent to Eastern Siberia exclusively. Communal exiles go thither in very small numbers. Penal servitude is centralized in the Alexandrófski prison near Irkútsk, at Kará in the territory of the Trans-Baikál, and on the island of Saghalín. Small gangs of hard-labor convicts are also sent to mining establishments and salt-works and to gold-placers. Forced colonists are distributed, in accordance with the nature of their sentences and the directions of the *Prikáz o Silnikh*, throughout the provinces and territories of Eastern Siberia, with the exception of the Amúr region. To the latter are sent only an insignificant number of forced colonists—mostly hard-labor convicts from the island of Saghalín, who finished their terms of penal servitude before the year 1880, when the sending of forced colonists from there to the mainland was stopped.

Notwithstanding the length of time that the deportation of criminals has been practised, the exile system and penal servitude in Eastern Siberia are in the most unsatisfactory state. In the chief administration there is not even a department for their superintendence and regulation, while the exile bureaus in the provinces are not organized in a manner commensurate with the importance of the work that they have to do, and are prejudicial rather than useful to the service. The *étapes*, forwarding prisons, and prisons of other kinds, with the most insignificant exceptions, are tumble-down buildings, in bad sanitary condition, cold in winter, saturated with miasm, and, to crown all, affording very little security against escapes. The prisons in Nízhni Údinsk, Chíta, Nérchinsk, Blagovíshehensk, and particularly Nikoláivsk, astound one by their bad condition. The reasons for this melancholy state of the prisons are many. In the first place, the prisons of the empire generally, with the exception of the principal ones recently erected, are not remarkable for their good qualities, and the Siberian prisons are bad particularly because they were built quickly, with insufficient means, and almost wholly without supervision, either administrative or technical, the latter especially on account of the lack of architects. The last reason is applicable even now to prisons in process of erection. The prison at Vérkhni Údinsk,

seems to me better to let it stand as I originally made it, than to improve the English style at the expense, possibly, of fidelity to the original. The report itself was rather careless and slipshod in construction, and all that I could do, in the brief time it was

in my hands, was to reproduce it, with all its faults, in intelligible English. I cannot now refer to it nor remember its phraseology, and I therefore follow the copy in my note-book.

which, according to the estimates, is to cost more than 250,000 *rubles*, has been built, and will presently be completed, under the supervision of an architect who does not live where the work is going on, and who pays to it only an occasional visit. A number of *étapes*, which are in process of erection simultaneously along a distance of more than five hundred *versts*, are under the superintendence of an architect who has a great quantity of other important work to look after. The results are perfectly intelligible. The contractors find no difficulty in departing from the plans, estimates, and conditions, and accountability for the work is merely formal and almost wholly fictitious. Apart from this lack of proper supervision, the amount of money appropriated for prison buildings is too small. *Étapes*, for example, are built of logs, without stone foundations, and, as a result, their long walls soon settle and become crooked, and the whole edifice assumes the appearance of a ruin, which is speedily made complete by inadequate care, climatic agencies, and injuries done to it by its temporary occupants, the exiles. It is absolutely necessary to increase the number of architects in the country, and to pay them more than the present rates of salary. The extra expense thus incurred will be productive, because it will result in the better construction of Government buildings, and thus in a very considerable saving in the future.

Prisoners are forwarded from place to place in Eastern Siberia "by *étape* process." Parties under the supervision of a "convoy command" march from *étape* to *étape*, and are whole months on the way, while hard-labor convicts, who must go to the head waters of the Amúr River, do not reach their destination in less than a year from the time when they enter Eastern Siberia. In the *étapes* the male prisoners and the families that voluntarily accompany them are kept, as far as possible, in separate *kámeras*; but they spend the greater part of the day together, and the scenes of debauchery to be witnessed here cannot possibly be described. All the shame and all the conscience that a criminal has left are here lost completely. Here go to ruin also the families of the criminals, irrespective of age or sex. In addition to debauchery, the prisoners are guilty of many other offenses and crimes, among which changing of names occupies an important place. A hard-labor convict, for example, changes names with a mere exile, and goes into simple banishment instead of penal servitude, while the one who takes his place knows that he can easily make his escape from penal servitude. The subsistence of the prisoners on the road is very expensive to the Government, and yet the exiles are very badly fed. Receiving food-money in the shape of cash in hand, they seldom get anything warm to eat, and feeding them from a common kettle is almost impracticable and is rarely attempted.

The exile system is almost completely unorganized. Although the laws have established innumerable rules for its regulation, such rules, for the most part, have been dead letters since the very day of their promulga-

tion on account of their impracticability and of the absence of proper supervision. Forced colonization consists of the distribution and enrolment of the criminal colonists in the *vólosts* [cantons or districts of a province]. Upon reaching the places of their enrolment, after so long a period of imprisonment, they receive full freedom, and must look out for their own maintenance. Only the least spoiled part of them, and those accustomed to work, establish themselves in the places to which they are assigned, or seek employment in the gold-placers. The rest abandon their places of enrolment and wander about the country, giving themselves up to laziness, and imposing themselves as a heavy burden upon the local population, at whose expense they are fed. The influence of these exiles upon the people of the country is very pernicious, since they carry into the villages and towns the seeds of depravity. As the Siberian population grows more and more prosperous, it manifestly feels, more and more, the heavy burden of these criminal colonists, and submits to their presence only as to an evil that is inevitable, protesting loudly, however, in the mean time, against such an order of things.

Penal servitude exists on the mainland and on the island of Saghalín, but there are no special convict prisons for the confinement of convicts during the time that they are not at work. Hard labor itself is not definitely regulated, and convicts either work very little or are engaged in labor which, although hard, is not of such a nature as to render practicable the regular and constant supervision of the laborers. Such labor, for example, includes the erection of buildings of various kinds, the construction of roads, the working of gold-placers, the making of salt, and the mining of coal. All of this work is done outside the prisons. *Kátorga* [penal servitude] on the mainland is centered, for the most part, in the Kará gold-placers, where last year [1881], in five prisons, there were 2939 men and 151 women. The convicts, as a whole, are divided into two classes—namely, those “on trial” and those “reforming.” The “on trial” class includes all new-comers, who are kept in prison for certain fixed periods proportionate to the severity of their sentences. At the expiration of their prison terms, if their behavior has been such as to meet with approval, they are transferred to the “reforming” class, and have a right to live outside the prison walls. They generally occupy small houses built by themselves in the vicinity of the prisons. The place of penal servitude thus consists of a mass of Government prison-buildings surrounded by a greater or less number of houses belonging to private individuals or to convicts of the “reforming” class. It will be manifest that this renders the work of supervision extremely difficult, and hence the number of escapes from Kará is very large. In 1881 there escaped 272 persons, or more than 9 per cent. of the whole number of convicts. The work in the Kará gold-placers is not hard, and the convicts [who work side by side with free laborers] are well fed. In the Alexandrófski prison [near Irkútsk] all



the work is domestic, and penal servitude consists merely of imprisonment with light labor. Still less hard is the work of convicts leased to the owners of private gold-placers and salt-works. Their situation differs little from that of free laborers. Among the convicts, however, are not a few feeble or decrepit persons, who are unfit for work and who are depressed by sickness. Their condition is burdensome in the extreme, and for most of them I can see only one end—the grave. The prison hospitals and asylums are in a lamentable condition. It is greatly to be regretted that there are many children in penal servitude—children who have come from places of exile or who have been born in Siberia. At Kará there is little supervision over them, and little probability, on account of the lack of funds, that the children's asylum, which has been authorized, will soon become a reality.

Unorganized and unregulated penal servitude of this sort fills all the surrounding country with *brodyágs* [runaway convicts], and overcrowds all the Siberian prisons. Even at the mines there are great numbers of recidivists, formerly convicts, who have escaped and been recaptured. The impossibility of establishing the identity of persons arrested without passports often results in the condemnation of a captured *brodyág* to four years of penal servitude,<sup>1</sup> when, before his escape, he had belonged to a class condemned to ten or more years of penal servitude. Escape, therefore, besides giving him temporary freedom, lessens considerably his punishment, even after recapture and a new trial. When a convict finishes his term of penal servitude he goes into forced colonization in the same way that a forced colonist does if banished directly from one of the interior provinces. The Kará gold-placers are situated on the bank of the river Shílka, and steamers from the lower Amúr come directly to the Kará landing. There was a project to bring convicts to Kará around the world and up the Amúr; but, although it was considered and found feasible, it has never been carried into effect for the reason that the volunteer fleet is not able to provide the necessary transportation.

Penal servitude on the island of Saghalín is organized in the same way as at Kará, but the work at the former place is much harder, and the place itself is wilder and more solitary. This, with the prospect of remaining on a distant island as a settler after the completion of a term of hard labor, makes the lot of a Saghalín convict a very hard one, and one that corresponds much more nearly with the punishment which the law has in view.<sup>2</sup> It should be remembered, however, that the transportation of convicts to Saghalín by sea is very convenient, and is much easier for the convict himself than the agonizing journey across the

<sup>1</sup> This is the penalty for being found at large in Eastern Siberia without a passport, and refusing to disclose one's name and previous place of residence.

<sup>2</sup> The number of convicts on the island of Saghalín is 3000. [The number on the 1st of January, 1889, was 5530. Author's note.]

whole of Siberia to Kará. In this respect the Saghalín convicts have an advantage over the convicts who work on the mainland. The experiment tried during the last few years of keeping convicts on Saghalín has shown the perfect practicability of making that island a place for the organization of penal servitude, and insuring the future of colonization by means of agriculture and the development of the natural resources of the country. In order, however, that this may be duly accomplished, it is necessary to organize a permanent administration for the island, and with this work the chief prison administration is now occupied.

The greatest advantage of the organization of penal servitude on the island of Saghalín lies in the fact that the convicts, and afterward the forced colonists, are there isolated from the free population, and can establish themselves without interfering with innocent people, as they would on the mainland.

As conclusions from all that has been said above with regard to penal servitude, the exile system, and prisons, it appears :

1. That penal servitude and the exile system in Eastern Siberia are wholly unorganized, and that their organization will necessitate a great financial expenditure.

2. That the forwarding of exiles by *étape* is expensive, is accompanied with great suffering for the exiles, and is a heavy burden to the local population along the route over which the exile parties pass.

3. That the exile element is very injurious to the people of Siberia, is burdensome to it, costs it dear, and is a source of moral corruption.

4. That the prisons and *étapes* demand, and, on account of local conditions [such as climatic agencies, the difficulty of maintaining a watch over the buildings, and the injuries done to them by passing prisoners] will always demand, very considerable annual expenditures ; and, independent of the latter, that it will become necessary in the near future to spend an enormous sum of money in renewing these buildings.

5. That the concentration and organization of penal servitude on the island of Saghalín are perfectly practicable.

Imperial interests require that the most serious attention be given at once to this subject. The advantages offered by the island of Saghalín should be utilized as a means of freeing Siberia from the convict element, and this should be done without grudging the money that may be necessary for its accomplishment. The results to the Empire will be enormous, morally in raising the spirit of the Siberian people, and economically in the development of the resources of the island of Saghalín. The transportation of all convicts to this island, and the equipment of them with the necessary means of maintaining and subsisting themselves, will establish our maritime relations with the far East, and this is extremely important for the development of the Amúr region.

Having witnessed on the ground all the miseries brought upon Eastern Siberia by penal servitude and forced colonization, I regard it as my sacred duty to bear witness before your Imperial Majesty that every measure looking to the localization of penal servitude and the limitation of exile will be, for the people of Eastern Siberia, the greatest possible of boons. The adoption of such measures is necessary in order to regulate this exile system, which is an ulcer upon the Empire, and which swallows up an immense quantity of money to no purpose. I have not concealed from the Minister of the Interior the present unsatisfactory state of the exile system, penal servitude, and prisons in the country intrusted to my care. The chief prison administration comes to my assistance as far as possible, but its means are limited and if serious measures are not taken we shall be confronted by very great difficulties, of which it seems to me my duty to give notice in time.

In concluding this part of my report, I must offer, for the most gracious consideration of your Imperial Majesty, a few words concerning the State [political] criminals now living in Eastern Siberia. On the 1st of January, 1882, they numbered in all 430 persons, as follows:

<i>a.</i> Sent to Siberia by decree of a court and now	
1. In penal servitude . . . . .	123
2. In forced colonization . . . . .	49
3. In assigned residences [ <i>na zhityó</i> ] . . . . .	41
<i>b.</i> Sent to Siberia by administrative process and now	
1. In assigned residences [ <i>na zhítelstvo</i> ] . . . . .	217
Total . . . . .	430

All of the state criminals belonging to the penal-servitude class are held at the Kará gold-mines, under guard of a foot-company of the Trans-Baikál Cossacks consisting of two hundred men. The sending of these criminals to work with the common convicts in the gold-placers is impossible. To employ them in such work in isolation from the others is very difficult, on account of the lack of suitable working-places, their unfitness for hard physical labor, and the want of an adequate convoy. If to these considerations be added the fact that unproductive hard labor, such as that employed in other countries merely to subject the prisoner to severe physical exertion, is not practised with us, it will become apparent that we have no hard labor for this class of criminals to perform, and the local authorities, who are in charge of them, and who are held to strict accountability for escapes, are compelled, by force of circumstances, to limit themselves to keeping such state criminals in prison under strict guard, employing them, occasionally, in work within the prison court, or not far from it. Such labor has not the character of penal servitude, but may rather be regarded as hygienic. Immunity from hard labor, however, does not render the lot of state criminals an

easy one. On the contrary, complete isolation and constant confinement to their own limited circle make their life unbearable. From the observation of a person who has close relations with them, it appears that they are divided into parties hostile to one another, and merely make a show to the prison overseers of living together in peace and harmony. Such a situation has an injurious influence upon the weaker characters. There have been a number of suicides among them, and within a few days one of them, Pózen, has gone insane. A number of others are in a mental condition very near to insanity. In accordance with an understanding that I have with the Ministry of the Interior, all sufferers from mental disorder will be removed, if possible, to hired quarters in the town of Chita, since there are in Siberia no regular asylums for the insane, and all the existing institutions of that kind in European Russia are full.

The other state criminals, who are living in forced colonization or in assigned residences under police surveillance, are distributed in small groups among towns and villages situated [as far as possible] away from the principal roads, so that escape from them may be more difficult. Most of these exiles have no adequate means of their own to live on, and the distribution of them in thinly settled districts renders the finding of work almost impossible, even for those of them who know some trade and would be willing to work. As a result of this it becomes necessary for the Government to assume the expense of their subsistence by giving to every one of them an allowance of from six to twenty *rubles* a month, according to local conditions. Exceptions to this are very rare.

The surveillance of state criminals is very unsatisfactory, and it is a question whether the principal safeguard against their escape is not the deportation of them to remote and desolate places, which, of themselves, render escape a thing not to be thought of. Police supervision, which is not attended with satisfactory results even in the provinces of European Russia, amounts, in Siberia, to little or nothing, because there are districts here where a single *isprávník* and his assistant have to look after a territory comprising several thousand square *vershs*. The surveillance of the village authorities is only nominal. The offenses committed by the state criminals exiled to Siberia, and their accomplices, characterize sufficiently their personality and their aspirations. It is doubtful whether imprisonment and exile have brought any of them to their senses. It is more than probable that they have become still more hardened and obdurate. Exiled as adherents of the party of anarchy, they do not conceal their convictions in the places to which they have been banished, but give open expression to their false judgments. It must be said, frankly, that the Government itself, by means of exile and at its own expense, spreads anarchistic ideas in places where, as in Eastern Siberia, nothing of the kind has ever before been known or heard of. Some of the young people in Siberia have already been led astray, and it is impossible not to feel



serious anxiety with regard to the further extension of the disturbance. If imperial considerations render it impossible to put a stop to the banishment of this class of offenders, they should be isolated, so far as possible, even in Siberia, from the local population. This subject is now occupying the attention of the Minister of the Interior, and I am taking part in his deliberations. The conditions of the question are so complicated that it is difficult to settle upon anything, and thus far nothing has been decided upon. The concentration of such persons in one place, or the segregation of them in groups of considerable size in several places, would obviate the necessity of scattering them over the whole country, and would facilitate surveillance; but, on the other hand, it is doubtful whether, on account of the smallness of Siberian towns, it would not necessitate the finding of quarters for them and the subjection of them to discipline in their social life; and this would not be far removed from the prison confinement to which they might be subjected without sending them to Siberia. In any case, it is extremely necessary that they should be kept under more vigilant surveillance, otherwise escapes, which now occur rarely, may assume more extensive proportions, and every such criminal who escapes from Siberia becomes extraordinarily harmful and dangerous. The serious importance of escapes should receive the more attention for the reason that among the exiles banished to Siberia and living there in comparative freedom are not a few extremely harmful persons—persons much more dangerous than those sent into penal servitude. To the best of my information there exists among these exiles a rule to assist in the escape of the more self-reliant and resolute characters, and the latter, in return, promise to sacrifice themselves for the attainment of the ends designated by their leaders. Recognition of the importance of preventing the escape of such criminal evil-doers, and the almost complete impossibility of so doing render my position, and that of the administration dependent upon me, a very hard one. We are overburdened by the weight of the responsibility that rests upon us, and the threatening possibility of the escape of this or that exile keeps us in constant fear of incurring your Imperial Majesty's displeasure. It is my plain duty to report to your Majesty that the administrative authorities of Eastern Siberia are honorably fulfilling their obligations in this particular, and I hope that they will not give occasion for any complaints. There have been only three escapes from regularly organized prisons, and, in connection with them, it must be remembered that state criminals, who are experienced in plots, bold in their plans and resolute in carrying them into execution, have, as their adversaries, imperfectly educated prison wardens, and subordinate officials who stand on a still lower plane of intellectual development. The escape of Maláfski and Ivánof from the Krasnoyársk prison seems to indicate a relaxation of discipline in that place of confinement. I have sent one of my officers, Major Kalageórgi,

to make an investigation of all the circumstances connected with it, and with the prison management; but I have not yet received his report. So far as the people of Siberia are concerned, they do not sympathize with state criminals, and after the melancholy occurrence of the 1st of March, 1881,<sup>1</sup> several Siberian towns asked that such criminals might be removed from within their limits. Their requests, however, could not be granted, because the concentration of state criminals in towns places them, at least, under some real surveillance from the local police. . . .

In this communication with regard to the state of the administration in Eastern Siberia, I have sketched, in general outline, the condition of the various branches of the Government. The truthfulness and frankness which have guided me in the preparation of this humble report to your Imperial Majesty have compelled me to paint an ugly picture.<sup>2</sup> Eastern Siberia is a country not only far removed by nature, but neglected in all branches of imperial government. No matter where you look you see imperfections, faults, and often abuses. For too long a time nothing has been done for Siberia, and now the results are to be seen in the extremely melancholy condition of its administration.

Your Imperial Majesty! Siberia is truly a beautiful country. Its people are gifted with high intellectual capacity, and are honest, industrious, and energetic. Both the country and its inhabitants deserve the most gracious consideration. I regard it as my first duty to intercede with your Majesty in behalf of this country and its necessities, and I do so, boldly, in this humble report, confidently hoping that the attitude which I have taken with regard to the interests of the country committed to my care will not be attributed to me as a fault. It is my sincere conviction that now, at the beginning of the fourth century of the vital union of Siberia with Russia, it is time for the Government to give that country particular attention, and extricate it from the position into which it has been put by its remoteness from the center of the Empire, by its designation as a place of exile and penal servitude, and by the long-continued failure to satisfy its needs and demands. All the reforms that are necessary for Siberia are bound up with the question of financial means. If the money be given, it will be possible to begin a whole series of reforms; and the officers to carry them into execution may be found if their services in this remote country can be properly compensated. But the mere assignment of the means is not enough. The money must be properly used, strict order must be maintained, and the necessary measures progressively adopted.

At the present time, when every requisition of the local authorities is satisfied by this or the other department, it often happens that the least

<sup>1</sup> The assassination of Alexander II. [Author's note.]

<sup>2</sup> On the margin of the original report, opposite this sentence, stands in the Tsar's handwriting the word "Yes!"

important requests are granted, while the most important are postponed. This is comprehensible. Every department supports that in which it is interested, and so it often happens that the resources of the imperial treasury are spent for things that are not the most important and vital. In order to avoid this, it should be decided how large a sum of money can be set apart annually for the needs of Siberia. Then the governor-general should be authorized to make suggestions with regard to reforms in accordance with local conditions and circumstances. Knowing what sum he will be allowed, he can make his representations correspond with it. I should fix this sum at first at 100,000 *rubles* per annum. With such an amount it would be possible, the third or fourth year, to begin prison buildings of considerable importance. . . . With the adoption of such measures the local governor-general would be able to act energetically for the welfare of the country committed to his care.

If it please your Imperial Majesty to approve my suggestions, and if the annual sum that I have recommended for reforms in Eastern Siberia be granted, this remote country will be enabled to develop its economic resources and begin a new life.<sup>1</sup>

There has been some discussion in the newspapers of the question whether the Tsar is aware of the condition of the Siberian prisons and of the sufferings of the Siberian exiles. In the light of the above report the question must be answered unhesitatingly in the affirmative.

<sup>1</sup>Opposite this sentence, on the margin of the original report, stand, in the Tsar's handwriting, the words "I should greatly like to do this, and it seems to me indispensable." Upon the report, as a whole, the Tsar made the following indorsement: "I have read this with great interest, and I am more than troubled by this melancholy but just description of the Govern-

ment's forgetfulness of a country so rich and so necessary to Russia. It is inexcusable, and even criminal, to allow such a state of affairs in Siberia to continue." Upon the part of the report relating to prisons and the exile system the Tsar has indorsed the words, "Grústnaya no ne nóvaya kartína" [A melancholy but not a new picture].





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